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CENTRE FOR BYZANTINE, OTTOMAN AND MODERN GREEK STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

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List of Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BS	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn)</i>
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique</i>
DIEE	<i>Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i>
EEBS	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
IRAIK	<i>Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinople</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JGR	<i>J. & P. Zepos, Jus Graecoromanum</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>

MPG	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Graeco-Latina</i>
MPL	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Latina</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly-Wissowa)
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
VV	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Δημήτριος Α. Χρηστίδης, *Παραθεμάτων παρανοήσεις και κατανοήσεις*.
Thessaloniki: Εκδόσεις Αίγιρος, 1996. Pp. 227.

Much of the scholarly activity of Demetrios Chrestides is focussed on the indirect transmission of texts from the ancient Greek world into later periods, and especially the use made of these works by late Byzantine writers. That is, he is interested in the phenomenon of quotation, or allusion, or mimesis, or even plagiarism — there are many terms that can be used for this habit dear to almost every Byzantine literary practitioner in any Byzantine century.

Chrestides' attention seems to have been drawn in the first instance to the problems that this habit can pose by van Dieten's edition of Niketas Choniates' History, where, as he pointed out in a paper in 1984, van Dieten's apparatus omits many of that author's literary allusions; and in the second place by his own edition of the twelfth-century satirical piece, the *Anacharsis*, which he found to be riddled with references to writers both contemporary and from deep in the past. Chrestides feels that in recent years a tendency has developed to consider these allusions to be of secondary importance and attempts are not made to note them: some are signalled, but most are not. Chrestides considers this unsatisfactory. To make his point he has read assiduously, both editions and secondary material, and has collected a wide variety of instances where he can convict an editor of failure to pick up an allusion, whether to an ancient author, to the Scriptures, to one of the Church Fathers, to the Liturgy, or to a Byzantine near-contemporary. He is at pains to point out, however, that this is done not in spirit of mean-minded castigation but in the interest of furthering our understanding of the texts. I think we can accept this since he includes himself amongst those who have not been sufficiently attentive.

Chrestides categorises his examples under six headings, forming the six chapters of this study: 1. failure to notice a quotation or reference (pp. 31-83); 2. perception of a quotation but failure to identify it (pp. 84-107); 3. incorrect identification of a quotation (pp. 108-146); 4. incomplete identification of a quotation (pp. 147-173); 5. identification of the indirect but not the direct source of a quotation (pp. 174-182); and 6. correct but incomplete identification (pp. 183-197). He gives examples under each heading, each further sub-categorised. The examples are treated at varying length; in some cases briefly if the point has been discussed previously, in other cases extensively if brought forward in this study for the first time (p. 31, n. 1).

The authors from whom examples are taken range from the patriarch Athanasios I to the patriarch Photios (taken alphabetically; see the Index of Passages Discussed), via Theodore Daphnopates and Michael Psellos — 53 authors in all, and 207 passages. The passages discussed are treated according to Chrestides' perception of the type of error induced by the failure to note the quotation, thus not author by author, either chronologically or alphabetically.

This is not a book to read through from cover to cover, it is a book to be aware of and to consult, using the efficient indices (not only of Passages Discussed but also of Passages Cited). I have found much of interest, and much to admire in Chrestides' astute recognition of lurking references: to take one example more or less at random, in his spotting of Nikephoros Ouranos' use of an epigram of Callimachos in the phrase *ὡς Μεγαρέων, οὐ λόγος οὐδ' ἄριθμός*, behind the

editor's syntactical oddity ὡς μέγα ῥέων, οὔτε λόγος, οὔτε ἀριθμός (p. 37). Houseman would recognise the mind-set.

What, however, is missing are any overall conclusions about this Byzantine habit, other than that it was common: there are many trees but no woods. Each case is different. So the spotting of a quotation in Pseudo-Psellos' *Περὶ τοῦ Τίς Θεῶ τῆς κολάσεως ὁ σκοπός* leads to conjectures about the branch of Lucian's manuscripts followed by this author. Sometimes Chrestides comments on the purpose of allusions: e.g. on the combination of a phrase from Sophocles' *Ajax* and from John of Damascus by George Tornikes to emphasise the difficulty of producing a fitting *enkommion* on Anna Komnene (p. 62). More frequent are comments that lines like that of Euripides, *Orestes* 485 (βεβαρβάρωσαι, χρόνιος ὦν ἐν βαρβάροις) seems to have been a favourite tag (p. 58, note 1), with a somewhat jejune warning that one should be wary of deriving hasty implications from it. But frequently, Chrestides leads us to make our own deductions about why an author chose to use a particular phrase (or whether there was one other than simple display of erudition). And this despite his avowed justification for his exercise, that it is necessary to be aware of the intertextual layers in order to respond adequately to the text which includes it.

However, perhaps it is enough justification to have reminded us of the need not to let this Byzantine habit pass out of our minds. Chrestides has done a great service in providing this rich selection of examples. Editors and readers alike have been reminded that they should be ever alert to anomalies of style and syntax that may signal a quotation or allusion; and of course, the TLG CD now makes the task of turning suspicion into certainty so much easier.

Elizabeth Jeffreys

Darren J.N. Middleton and Peter Bien, eds., *God's struggler. Religion in the writings of Nikos Kazantzakis*. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996. Pp. xii, 236.

Grandiloquent and scornful of those less intellectually adventurous than he, Kazantzakis has been a figure of controversy from almost the beginning of his career. He has been called an atheist, a religious thinker, a heretic, a Buddhist, and a communist among other names. In a country such as Greece, in which nationalism and religion are tightly bound up with each other, his attempts to synthesise a new mythology for the modern age was seen tantamount to treason. He seems to have succeeded in his 1908 goal — to formulate his individual and personal conception of life and write about it — yet he seems to have kept tinkering with the formulation throughout his career. During his lifetime his work rarely received an unbiased review, either from his outraged critics or even his supporters — who took his grandiose aspirations at face value. While many Greek writers have tended to focus on whether Kazantzakis could be called Orthodox or even a Christian, the essays here seek to move beyond such narrow concerns. In this new volume, Darren Middleton and Peter Bien have gathered together eleven contributions (one a reprint) to situate Kazantzakis in the wider context of religious thought. As they write in the introduction, 'Although our purpose is surely not to convert Kazantzakis to Christianity, we do hope to counteract his opponents' assertion that his attempt to make sense of divine and human becoming is unworthy of a place in the history of Christian thought'(17). They have done so admirably.

All the contributors have engaged with Kazantzakis thoroughly, acknowledging his flaws as well as his strengths. Particularly welcome are the attempts by Bien, Demetrios Constantelos, Daniel Dombrowski, and Joseph Jeter to discern some coherence in Kazantzakis' vacillations of belief. In providing something of a key to the theology that forms the basis of Kazantzakis' work, this volume is especially useful to his readers who have more of a grounding in literature than in theology or philosophy.

One of the valuable aspects in bringing together thinkers from so many backgrounds is that it suggests new comparisons and perspectives: Kazantzakis' thought finds itself juxtaposed with that of such diverse thinkers as Chaim Potok, Jung, Kierkegaard, Luther, and the process philosopher Alfred North Whitehead. It also provides fundamental information for Kazantzakis studies, particularly in Michael Antonakes' valuable overview of the controversy surrounding the man and his work. Then there is Constantelos who, in his evaluation of Kazantzakis' religious thought, dispassionately delves into the (mostly Greek) controversy surrounding the orthodoxy of Kazantzakis' Orthodoxy: he suggests convincingly that the Cretan is Orthodox in his spiritual/mystical religiosity, his terminology, and his ideas about the reciprocity existing between man and God, but heterodox in his dogma.

Middleton uses the tools of process while acknowledging the 'seemingly insurmountable differences' between Whitehead and Kazantzakis, believes that 'Whiteheadian process theologians would do well to reflect on how Kazantzakis poeticises divine and creaturely struggle within our world of evolutionary striving'

(210). One of the benefactors of this new theological angle on Kazantzakis is Peter Bien himself. Here we find Bien's long-term series of studies infused with a fresh spark. In tracing what he calls the 'remarkable continuity' throughout Kazantzakis' vacillations and Bergsonian circlings, he concludes that in Kazantzakis' final novel, *The Last Temptation of Christ*, the author was not repenting of his earlier blasphemies but treating Christ as 'a human sufferer and model, the type of religious man who yearns for a perfection and a freedom unobtainable in this world, except through dying' (130).

In what is probably the weightiest contribution, Dombrowski dissects Kazantzakis' mysticism into its disparate elements, not neglecting the subject of his religious language. He places Kazantzakis in the stream of thought of Abrahamic religions regarding the way in which God can be both knowable and unknowable (91) and tries to show how Kazantzakis, ever the extremist, yet avoids the extremes common to the mystical traditions.

Jerry Gill, who offers by far the most delightful essay, explores the surprising similarities of circumstance and thought between Kazantzakis and Kierkegaard, ranging from the difficulties each had with his father, to their paradoxical relationships to and understandings of both women and homeland, to the 'vertical thrust of their respective analyses of the way to human fulfilment and authenticity.' He recognises that, while both are dualists about matter and spirit, both seek to transform matter into spirit: Kierkegaard through faith, Kazantzakis through struggle. In spite of his admiration for both of these thinkers, he ends by registering his 'disappointment concerning the undue individualism that characterises their approaches to life' (186).

The danger with a book of this sort is that each of the contributors is forced to explore at least a short way into a less familiar area of study. This has some of the glorious advantages already mentioned, but it also can lead to difficulties. Some of the problems that arise are less serious than others, such as the editors' reliance on John Hick's *Evil and the God of Love* as a source on traditional/historical Christianity (Hick is hardly reliable on this period). A more serious problem is the contributor who ignores certain vital differences between various theologies: in his otherwise refreshingly clear account of Kazantzakis' Christology, Jeter fails when he generalises about the 'Church', without specifying which church tradition (there are few areas in which all churches agree absolutely, whether in dogma or terminology), or in juxtaposing Kazantzakian thought to Protestant hymns that the Cretan probably would not have known.

Most serious, though, is the danger that, floundering in unfamiliar territory, a contributor might overlook some fundamentals. Ann Pedersen falls grievously into this trap. Her article sets the soteriology of Luther and Kazantzakis side by side. The only reasons she identifies for comparing the two are that both rebelled against the status quo and that both believe in a kind of cooperation between man and God in the work of salvation. She neglects the fact, brought out so ably by Constantelos in this same volume, that it was quite the usual thing for Orthodox theologians (and others) to challenge their predecessors and contemporaries. She also neglects the fact that the idea of *synergia* between man and God is a notion common to many theologians, from the second-century Clement of Alexandria

onward. In concentrating on these ideas, not inherently interesting in this context, she misses more fruitful areas of comparison, such as Kazantzakis' glorification of struggle versus Luther's idea that we *resist* a lifelong struggle toward God. Or she could have compared the paradoxes of each: Kazantzakis' 'reconciling the irreconcilables' or 'reaching the unreachable' versus Luther's 'the finite is capable of the infinite.' Perhaps most problematic is that, in her enthusiasm for comparing the two, she writes about them as though they have the same things in mind when speaking of such concepts as God or salvation despite their being separated by centuries, circumstances, and culture. Helpfully, however, she does set out Kazantzakis' soteriology lucidly, pointing out that while Luther's idea is that God moves downwards toward man, Kazantzakis envisions man as spiralling upwards toward God.

Overall the book is a substantial addition to the study of Kazantzakis, his work and thought. But welcome as it is, one can only hope that it does not lay the controversies to rest too easily. After all, Kazantzakis' idea was that the essence of religiosity is struggle, so that the greater the struggle, the greater the controversy he continues to stir up, the closer he is to achieving his purpose.

**Patricia Fann Bouteneff,
Geneva, Switzerland**

Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095-1131*. Cambridge: CUP, 1997. Pp. xvi, 300, frontispiece.

In the opening part of this fine work Professor Riley-Smith offers a magisterial survey of developments on the eve of the First Crusade both in lay penitential practices and in ecclesiastical thought about the justifiability of violence. He presents ample, often *recherché*, evidence of the frequency of pilgrimages to Jerusalem during the eleventh century. Particularly suggestive is the evidence of Westerners' regular donations to the Sepulchre before the Crusade, as if they already felt some special responsibility for maintaining it; many churches founded in the West by former pilgrims were dedicated to the Sepulchre. At the same time, the attitude of some churchmen towards violence committed for pious ends was growing more positive. This was evidently connected with the self-assertiveness of the Gregorian papacy and its willingness to countenance violence in pursuit of *iustitia*. Riley-Smith highlights the writings of the group of able scholars such as Bonizo of Sutri and Anselm of Lucca associated with Mathilda of Tuscany.

This sea-change in attitudes during the second half of the eleventh century was, of course, fully charted by C. Erdmann, but Riley-Smith expounds it with special insight and clarity and he introduces new evidence into the discussion. Many of the leading supporters of Mathilda were called *fideles beati Petri* by contemporaries; this standing could be acquired formally through a solemn oath or avowal of vassalage in respect of the pope. Riley-Smith shows that many of those *fideles* who belonged to the higher nobility were closely interrelated by marriage — and thus in communication with one another across the sweep of Western Christendom. Some answered Pope Urban's call in 1095-96 in person, while others were represented by their sons. Strong-minded, godly women may well have been a 'live wire' in activating these nexuses. Riley-Smith points out that two, probably three sons of Almodis of la Marche went on the First Crusade: Hugh VI of Lusignan, Raymond of St. Gilles and, probably, their half-brother, Berengar Raymond II of Barcelona; so did the husbands of two of their nieces. Both Hugh and Raymond were *fideles Petri*.

On the plane of ideas, Riley-Smith draws a valuable distinction: between, on the one hand, earlier instances of papally-sanctioned warfare when some general absolution of sins was proffered and whose fallen might be accounted martyrs and, on the other, an undertaking partially but not exclusively of military character expressly equated with fulfilment of an act of penance. Sheer participation in the perilous *iter sanctum* until its completion (or one's own demise), rather than exclusively death in battle, was to be spiritually meritorious to an exceptional degree. This amounted to a radical new concept of 'penitential warfare'. Riley-Smith adduces evidence that Gregory VII and his supporters were mooted this idea ten years before the Crusade. One of Anselm of Lucca's priests who had borne a blessing from Anselm to Mathilda's army in 1085 later described it thus: 'We were to impose on the soldiers the danger of the coming battle for the remission of all their sins' (cited on p. 51). But it was Urban who systematically and theatrically associated the idea with that of pilgrimage and who introduced the symbols and rites of pilgrimage, including the pilgrim's vow to complete the task in hand. He also saw to it that crosses were distributed to volunteers, to be

sewn on to their clothes and worn until their vows had been fulfilled. This in itself marked them out, being at once distinctive from the garb customary among pilgrims before 1095 and a standing declaration of one's personal commitment to Christ crucified. As Riley-Smith puts it, 'however inchoate crusading was in institutional terms, crusaders were readily identifiable' (p. 10).

The novelty of Urban's demarche does not in itself explain the extraordinary scale of the response. It is notoriously difficult to fathom the motivation of those who went on the Crusade. The hundreds of charters recording the property disposals and other fund-raising arrangements of departing Crusaders offer us the nearest approach to the problem. These documents are scarcely 'grass-roots' evidence, in that they were mostly written by monks or clerics for the benefit of the arms-bearing classes. Even so, the vast array of documents examined by Riley-Smith is more striking for the uniformity of sentiments and purposes expressed than it is for the variety. The concept of a military *expeditio* is intermingled with that of the pilgrimage, but this reflects the multi-faceted nature of Urban's own message and Jerusalem features as the objective in a very high proportion of the charters.

Analysis of the charters has enabled the author to identify 659 persons who certainly or probably went on the Crusade. The prosopographical findings from the charters form, in effect, the heart of the book and a valuable 'Preliminary list of Crusaders' is printed as an appendix. Through examining the mechanics as well as the self-justification of the Crusaders, Riley-Smith shows that their declarations of intent were not empty formulae. Property-owners were well-aware that the journey would be protracted and hazardous. Many of the charters record endowments to monastic houses or free renunciations of rights over Church properties. They were clearly anxious to remove any conceivable spiritual blemish that might mar their main act of penance. The charters constitute evidence of the heavy expenses incurred in fitting out arms-bearers and this casts grave doubt on the view that the Crusades were essentially a plundering expedition on a massive scale or an outlet for the ambitions of landless younger sons. Riley-Smith shows convincingly that the cost of Crusading often lay beyond the means of individuals. They had perforce to turn to their families and the pooling of resources or alienation of lands was the key means of raising funds in some areas. Even then, the cost could strain finances and Riley-Smith provides evidence of families questioning the financial arrangements made. But there is also evidence of collaboration after what Riley-Smith plausibly suggests were family-conferences. No doubt materialist considerations and a sense of *noblesse oblige* lay behind some of the devices used to raise capital while keeping lands within the family. But a significant number of these same families showed marked inclinations towards active veneration of saints, Jerusalem pilgrimages or Gregorian-style reform. Riley-Smith suggests that 'certain families were collectively predisposed to respond favourably to the summons to take the cross' (p. 94). Their combination of piety and family-feeling provided essential organisation and resources for the mass-response to Urban's call. Riley-Smith's investigations point to clusters of probable or certain participants in the First Crusade who hailed from the same region. The networks of like-minded families may well account for many of these

clusters although, as Riley-Smith stresses, ties of vassalage and other such connections could also draw sizeable numbers of persons from the same locality on to a Crusade. In wealthy areas such as Champagne the lords may have been able to subsidise their followers, so that fewer knightly families needed to pool their resources.

Riley-Smith's findings have various implications for students of Byzantium. His study of the charters leads him to conclude that their initiators were preoccupied with obtaining spiritual advantage: 'The Crusade was for them as individuals only secondarily about benefiting the Church or Christianity; it was primarily about benefiting themselves . . . an act of self-sanctification' (p. 75). None of the charters which he has examined expressly mention aid to Byzantium, whereas many refer to Jerusalem as the goal. For example, Robert of Flanders was 'going to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God'. The terminology, although compressed and thus potentially misleading, does suggest that the Byzantines were regarded as merely accessory to the main task of completing the *iter* to Jerusalem. So far as they appeared to be furthering this objective, they could be regarded as 'brothers'; as Riley-Smith notes, leaders such as Raymond of St. Gilles seem to have expected that Alexius Comnenus would lead them to Jerusalem. But it is no accident that Bohemond focused on Alexius' alleged failure to help the 'pilgrims' and his obstruction of their progress both in his postscript to the Princes' Letter of September 1098 and in his propaganda before his attack on Byzantium in 1107-08. Bohemond was most probably consciously trying to rebut the image of Alexius' role which Alexius had been projecting in, for example, his letters to Abbot Oderisius of Monte Cassino. He was hitting on a raw nerve by portraying Alexius as the chief obstacle to what was for most Crusaders their chief objective, 'self-sanctification'.

Riley-Smith's demonstration of the networks of family-ties among the First Crusaders is of fundamental importance. It is fairly easy to show that the expedition's foremost leaders were not, for the most part, of outstanding calibre and that there was no coherent command-structure. Equally it is known that at times of crisis knights would abandon their company for that of a leader who could offer them supplies or new mounts, for example during the siege of Antioch. One has therefore been hard-put to explain what bound the Crusaders together as an effective fighting force, other than by citing the momentum of their common drive to reach Jerusalem and the generalship of Bohemond and a few other really talented leaders. The charters recording families' meticulous arrangements for funding the journey help resolve this problem. From Riley-Smith's findings it now appears that many companies were the product of collaboration — sometimes longstanding — within and between families. The 'clusters' which Riley-Smith has identified brought to the Crusade a kind of hidden infrastructure seldom remarked upon in ecclesiastical documents issued in the Levant or in the narrative chronicles. These links of pious kinship may have provided the organisational backbone of many companies and it was probably not just members of the South Italian Norman contingent who had some prior experience of campaigning together. These bonds could thus translate into effective military liaison as well as unity of purpose.

If the family ties of the First Crusaders have been underestimated hitherto by modern historians, they may also have escaped the notice of Alexius. Given his vantage-point, Alexius could be forgiven for regarding the foremost leaders of the Crusade as a motley crew of self-important grandees and ruthless but manipulative fortune-seekers, incapable of forming themselves into an effective hierarchy. Judging by his daughter's disparaging remarks, Alexius had a low opinion of the Crusaders' capacity for organisation and staying power. He most probably doubted whether they could take Antioch and suspected that the Crusade, in so far as it was a military expedition, would break up without his leadership and supplies. Such an assessment was not far off the mark: tensions ran high between the leaders at Antioch and the expedition nearly came to grief there. But the arms-bearers remained for the most part resilient and liaised with one another — and also, it is true, with outsiders such as the Genoese and Pisans — quite effectively. It was, in Riley-Smith's words 'the middle-ranking nobles who were to dominate the early decades of Crusading' (p. 7) and this 'middle management' was most probably pivotal in holding the Crusade together at both the operational and the organisational level. It may well be that Alexius did not, at least at the time of his first encounters with the Crusaders, fully appreciate this unprecedented and unforeseen situation. Past experience in dealing with Pechenegs and Turks would have suggested to him that once the chieftains were won over or disarmed, the rank-and-file tended to follow them or dissolve in disorder. In demonstrating the carefully husbanded resources and the interrelationships of middling families such as the Montlhérys and the Le Puisets, Riley-Smith also indicates how Alexius' appeals for aid unleashed into the Levant formidable new nexuses which were not so amenable to the traditional devices of Byzantine diplomacy. The Crusaders may have followed their leaders in accepting the need for the latter to do homage to Alexius and swear oaths of *fidelitas*, but their support for them was not unconditional and their units had a greater capacity for self-reliance than one might have supposed. Riley-Smith's work is thus of first-class importance in pointing to the underlying difficulties which Alexius faced in dealing with the Crusaders. At the same time, it suggests that he did not really need to hurry them across the Bosphoros and away from Constantinople in the manner praised by Anna Comnena: most of them were only too anxious to say their prayers at the Holy Sepulchre and then make the journey home.

**Jonathan Shepard,
Faculty of History, Cambridge**

***Kremasmata, Kabadion, Klibanion:* Some aspects of middle Byzantine military equipment reconsidered**

TIM DAWSON

The material aspect of the Byzantine army is a field which has always been the poor relation of scholarship on its organisation and logistics, and publications of the last decade have unfortunately confused the issue as much as elucidated it. Byzantium had a rich tradition of military literature, in unbroken continuity with the already sophisticated practice of the western empire of Rome. Manuals from late Antiquity to the tenth century provide considerable detail of the equipment a Byzantine soldier should ideally have, and in doing so show in the armed forces of the empire a pragmatic willingness to absorb useful equipment, as much as effective tactics, from its neighbours and enemies. The quality of its equipment must also have been a factor in the remarkable success of the army and navy in preserving the empire as much as they did against so many foes for a thousand years. In view of this, the relationship between the ideals of the manuals and the reality is an important issue, one which demands a laborious search for evidence beyond literary sources. Economic conditions impinged on more than the amount of manpower to be mobilised. They also influenced the quantity and even the very type of equipment that could be supplied to the troops. We shall look here at three items of armour which were essential elements of middle period panoply, the *kremasmata*, the *kabadion* and the *klibanion* with the aim of establishing their nature more precisely.

The major work of the last decade is Taxiarchis Kolias' *Byzantinische Waffen*. Although based upon a compendious reading of Byzantine literature, its conclusions have been undermined by a deficiency of comparative material and insufficient grasp of the practicalities of the subject. Unfortunately the position of *Byzantinische Waffen* as the largest and most accessible publication in the field has led to its

problematical propositions being disseminated and perpetuated by later authors. One difficulty in the volume is the nature of the *kremasmata* and *kabadion* and their relation to each other. It must be accepted that *kremasmata* is a padded and quilted skirt hanging below a soldier's cuirass to protect his legs. An arrangement of this type is unmistakably illustrated in many detailed pictorial sources of the middle period.¹ At one point Kolias proposes that the *kabadion* is the same thing as *kremasmata*.² His basis for this conclusion is that both are made of the same materials. This is nothing like sufficient evidence. Anvils and fish-hooks are both made of iron, but few fish are caught with anvils. Later he decides that it is a variety of garment, since it is recommended by Nikephoros Phokas in his *Praecepta Militaria*, as the sole protection for archers.³ Contemporaneous with that source, *De Cerimoniis* also mentions *kabadia*, describing them as 'the ethnic habit' of certain nationalities visiting Constantinople.⁴

To find the *kabadion* appearing prominently again in Byzantine sources we must move onto the fourteenth century. In the treatise on the court offices of Pseudo-Kodinos it is stipulated as the primary garment of most courtiers. Here it comes in diverse colours, brocades and bearing opulent decoration,⁵ quite unlike the 'coarse silk or cotton as thick as can be stitched together' and furnished with *zabai* (interpreted as strips of mail⁶) as the tenth-century description of *kresasmata* goes,⁷ but certainly in accord with its being a garment.

Reiske's commentary on *De Cerimoniis* points us towards a cognate

1. Cf the Joshua Roll, Harbaville Triptych, a triptych in the Shuvalov Collection (Hermitage inv. no. ω 266; Alice V. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the collections of Soviet Museums* [Leningrad 1985] plate 123 and pp. 292-3) and many other such pieces of the tenth century; and an eleventh-century icon of Saint Theodore in the Vatican: Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Vienna 1985) plate 7 and pp. 99-100.

2. Taxiarchis Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna 1988) 47.

3. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 55-57.

4. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske (Bonn 1829) 749, 15-16.

5. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Le Traité des Offices de Pseudo-Kodinos*, tr. Jean Vepeaux (Paris 1976) 146 etc.

6. This interpretation is also problematic, but is a matter for another article.

7. Eric McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth* (Washington 1995) 35.

term in Arabic, transliterated in various sources ‘*aba*,⁸ *kabâ* and *qabâ*, which is often mentioned in the compendious Arabic literature on textiles and dress.⁹ It is to an Arabic source that we turn to find the precise nature of the *kabadion*. In the ninth century, al-Aghani explained that ‘when a man tears his *qamis* (shirt or tunic) from the opening below the neck to the foot it becomes a *qabâ*’.¹⁰ Hence the *kabadion/kabâ* is a coat opening down the centre front, traceable to the well illustrated Persian garment mentioned in Herodotos by the earlier Hellenised name *kandys*¹¹ perhaps with *kabadês* as an intermediate form.¹² Garments of this type were already ubiquitous throughout the Mediterranean world by the fifth century,¹³ and several fine complete, or largely complete, examples dated to the tenth century were found in the Buyid cemetery at Rayy.¹⁴ The description in the

8. Reiske, *De Cer.*, 2, 880-1.

9. See R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles* (Beirut 1972) 18 and *passim*.

10. Reuben Levy, ‘Notes of Costume from Arabic Sources’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1935) 324 n. 2.

11. Veronika Gervers-Molnar, *The Hungarian Szür: an Archaic Mantle of Eurasian Origin*, R.O.M. monograph (Toronto 1973) 5 ff.

12. Although this term is in use in the twelfth century, and may prove on further investigation to be applied to the double-breasted type of coat best known from Seljuk and Mongol use but already established in the region at the beginning of the tenth century. See, for example, the reliefs of the Church of the Holy Cross at Aght’amar, and the Bodleian as-Sufi, ms Marsh 144, pp. 61, 185, 223 and others.

13. Several were found in the great mausoleum complex at Achmim/Antinoe in Egypt and are variously held in the Netherlands, Berlin and Lyons. See, for example, Dominique Bénazeth and Patricia Dal-pra, ‘Quelques remarques à propos d’un ensemble de vêtements de cavaliers découverts dans tombes égyptiennes’, in *L’Armée romaine et les Barbares du troisième au quatrième siècle* (Saint-Germain-en-laye 1993) 367-377. Together with an ivory plaque in the Bargello Museum, Florence, these make it clear that they were common wear amongst the Lombards.

14. A most exquisite example is held in the Textile Museum, Washington D.C. (inv. no. 3.166), although I am told it was disassembled in 1948 in order to allow the way it was woven as a single piece of cloth to be exhibited. See Dorothy G. Shepherd, ‘Medieval Persian Silks in fact and fancy’, *Bulletin de Liaison de C.I.E.T.A.* no. 39/40 (Lyon 1974). Another survives intact in the Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA 85.59). See Sheila Blair, Jonathan M. Bloom and Anne E. Wardwell, ‘Re-evaluating the date of the “Buyid” silks by epigraphic and radiocarbon analysis’, *Ars Orientalis* 22 (1992) 1-41. CMA 85.59 is illustrated on p. 40.

There are also several thirteenth-century examples held in the Mevlana Museum in Konya, Turkey: Mehmet Önder, ‘Mevlâna müsesinde bulunan Mevlâna’nın elbiseleri üzerinde bir araştırma’, *Türk Etimografya Dergisi* 14 (Ankara 1974) 5-14.

Praecepta of knee-length *kabadia* as ‘short’¹⁵ is a clear indication that something close to the floor sweeping garments familiar from the fourteenth century portraits of Theodore Metochitēs¹⁶ and Grand Admiral Apokaukos¹⁷ and others¹⁸ were already established in civilian dress by the middle of the tenth century. The length of Byzantine men’s garments was an element in Luitprand of Cremona’s diatribe against them in the wake of his visit of 968-9.¹⁹

Eric McGeer’s translation of the *Praecepta Militaria* and a portion of the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, necessarily depended heavily on Kolias’ work, with consequent inaccuracies in the translation. In the light of a better understanding of *kabadion* the passage of the *Praecepta* III.8:

εἰς δὲ τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν φορεῖτῶσαν οἱ τοξόται καβάδια πρὸς τὸ σκέπεσθαι μέρος τι τῶν ἱππῶν αὐτῶν, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ζώσεως καὶ κάτω.

should be read thus:

Let the archers wear *kabadia* at their belts to cover part of their horses and to protect themselves from the waist down.

This is still more subtly informative about the nature of these *kabadia*. They must not be split up the back,²⁰ for if they were, the skirts would simply fall either side of the horse and give it little protection, as can be seen in Fatimid ivories in Berlin,²¹ and commonly in the surcoats of European knights.²² It is clear this variety of *kabadion* was not similar to the Persian and Lombard forms already mentioned,

15. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon’s Teeth*, 185.

16. Church of the Holy Saviour in the Fields, Constantinople. 17. B.N. Paris Grecque 2144 f. 11^r.

18. Bedleian Library Lincoln ms 35 ff. 7^r and 12^r, B.L. Additional ms 39627 f. 3^r.

19. Liutprand of Cremona, *Embassy to Constantinople*, chapter 37 (translated by F.A. Wright [London 1993]).

20. This pattern of a split only up the front of a long garment is well evidenced in civilian dress. The clearest depiction is the Forty Martyrs of the Serpent Church in Göreme. See Nicolle and Michael Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris 1963) plate 45.

21. Museum für islamische Kunst. Michael Brett and Werner Forman, *The Moors: Islam in the West* (London 1985) 82.

22. See, for example, the ‘Maciejowski Bible’ extensively and many other European pictorial sources of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

which are constructed as a quite straight tube with little or no extra volume in the skirt, but made in the manner of an eighth to ninth century example found at Mochtchevaya-Balka in the Caucasus.²³ This has a panelled skirt attached by a horizontal seam at the waist, allowing for greater fullness and the skirt is also split on either side.²⁴ With such an arrangement the two front panels would hang over the rider's legs while the back panel would lay along the horse's spine.

The *klibanion* demands some careful attention. While it has largely gone unquestioned that the short, usually sleeveless cuirass shown in so many pictorial sources is the whole story, both the texts of the tenth century manuals and some lesser-known pictures of a little later tell another story.

The manuals do not define the form of the *klibanion* explicitly. Several mentions make it clear that this is because the term had several meanings. At II.3, and III.8 the author of the *Praecepta* writes of skirmishers and archers equipped only with *klibania* and stress at the first point the lightness and mobility of such armour. This is echoed by Ouranos. In contrast, at III.4 of the *Praecepta*, Phokas stipulates that the *klibania* of the *kataphraktoi* should have sleeves and *kremasmata*, a specification again repeated by Ouranos. In this contrast we have the clarification of the dream of Achmet mentioned by Koliass. *Klibanion* might refer to as little as the breast and back, but could also mean a full harness consisting of breast and back, shoulder guards, sleeves and skirt. The fewer of these pieces it had, the greater the danger to the wearer, as Achmet observed.²⁵

23. Anna Jeroussalimskaia, 'Le cafetan aux simourghs du tombeau de Mochtchevaja Balka (Caucase Septentrional)', *Studia Iranica* 7 (1978) 183-211; Krishna Riboud 'A newly excavated Caftan from the North Caucassus', *Textile Museum Journal* IV.3 (1976) 21-42. This coat is very long, and said to be for a man about six feet or 185 cm tall.

24. The coat with the skirts spread and the cutting layout appear at Jeroussalimskaia, 'Le cafetan aux simourghs', plate XII figure 15, and plate XIII figure 17 respectively.

25. Koliass *Byzantinische Waffen* p. 46 n. 71 . . . ὅτι ἐνεδύσατο τὸ λεγόμενον κλιβάνιον μονομερές, εὐρήσει στένωσιν ἑκαστος ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι αὐτοῦ, εἰ δὲ πολυμερές καὶ πολύμητον, εὐρήσει πλοῦτον ἀνάλογον τῶν τμημάτων καὶ ἀμεριμνίαν ἔχθρων. ' . . . that wearing the so-called unitary klibanion each will find himself in straightened circumstances, whereas if it is the multi-part and much-segmented sort, he will find value in proportion to the sections and freedom from the wounds of his enemies'.

Beyond these uses, *klibanion* referred to anything made of lamellar, such as horse armour. (Phokas III.5, Ouranos 60.5) This brings me to the matter of construction. In 1988 I embarked upon a project to construct a functioning metal *klibanion*. Drawing on the limited material published to that date²⁶ and some pioneering work by colleagues Steven and Martin Baker on the reconstruction of Near Eastern and Central Asian style leather lamellar,²⁷ I had gone ahead with the assumption that the Byzantines used the same sort of assembly methods as other peoples of the Near East and Central Asia. By 1991 I had produced an effective solid-laced thorax closely approximating the overall style of the pictorial sources after much trial and error. A problem I encountered rapidly was that in the athletic activity of combat the rows of plates would separate within minutes. In solid-laced lamellar each row of plates is tied directly to those above and below to form a virtually rigid cuirass, one which, contrary to Haldon, is very much more rigid than common scale armour.²⁸ The flexing of my torso pushed the rows past each other and, with the metal to metal contact where the laces passed through, the plates sheared the laces like scissors. I returned to an observation that I had passed over up to that point. Byzantine lamellar, and some Islamic, is depicted with narrow bands spacing the rows. I surmised that this may have been a strip of leather laced between the rows to cushion them and eliminate the scissoring effect, and it did prove so in practice.²⁹

Nonetheless, I was not completely satisfied with this result. Through the process of construction, re-construction and use, a germ of doubt about the overall form of the *klibanion* as depicted in the more commonly reproduced pictorial sources had grown into full blown

26. Bengt Thordeman, *Armour from the Battle of Wisby, 1361* (Stockholm 1939); Ian Heath, *Early Medieval Armies* (London 1980) and *idem*, *Byzantine Armies 886-1118* (Osprey Men-at-Arms Series, London 1979); Robert Elgood (ed.), *Islamic Arms and Armour* (London 1979).

27. Working in Australia within a re-enactment society. See, for example, M. Baker, 'Seljuk Arms and Armour', *Varangian Voice* 23 (July 1992) 9-15 and for other comparable re-constructive material C. Sitch, 'A sleeve and shoulder arrangement for Eastern hanging lamellar', *Varangian Voice* 33 (July 1994) 17-19.

28. 'Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries', *BMGS* 1 (1975) 14. See note below.

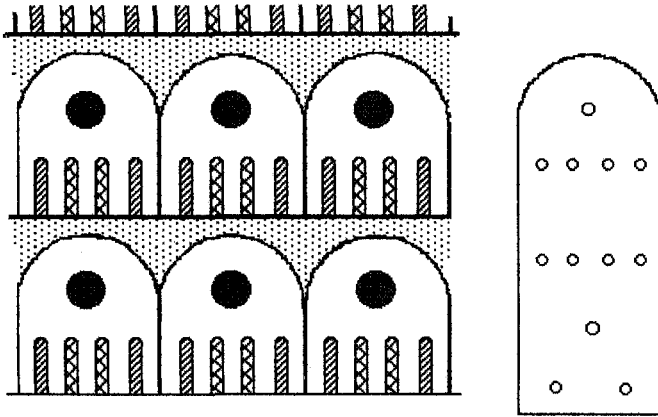
29. T. Dawson, 'Banded Lamellar — A Solution', *Varangian Voice* 23 (July 1992) 16.

scepticism, essentially on account of how little it protected. The skirts and sleeves sometimes shown resembled *pteruges*, an antiquated and rather ineffective armour, too much to be immediately plausible. The explanation given by the tenth century literary sources dispels this scepticism well enough, yet the searching out of less well known pictures and re-assessing familiar ones prompted by that scepticism yielded valuable observations.

The patternings on Byzantine depictions of lamellar, when clear, show striking differences from other depictions and reconstructions from archaeological finds. Across the corpus of pictorial sources there are also remarkable consistencies which led me to conjecture that these differences were not just artistic distortions. The construction of lamellar as commonly understood (I shall use the term 'generic' henceforth) has each plate overlapping the adjacent plate and laced firmly to it. If the tops of the plates are rounded (as they rarely are in generic lamellars) this results in a pattern where the visible vertical edges of the plates do not align with the lowest points of the row of arcs at the tops. In all Byzantine pictures I have seen to date this is not so; the entirety of every plate is visible and there is no overlap. This is viable if the banding is not merely a narrow strip at the top of the plates as I previously conjectured, but backs the whole row of plates which are fixed to it side by side. Such a construction method produces a fabric which is much more horizontally flexible than the generic method and easier in the labour of execution. Other benefits are a saving of fifteen to twenty percent in materials, and concomitantly weight; which is a significant consideration in the case of metal lamellar, and less exacting requirements for hole placement. Further ease of manufacture was afforded by the practice of riveting the plates to the backing rather than lacing them on. It is indicated by the plates showing a round dot or circle at the top in place of the short stripe that represents a lace. This development appears to have been introduced in the eleventh century and becomes the method most commonly illustrated in the twelfth century.³⁰ In addition, I concluded

30. See for some examples Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, pl. 7, no. 6 and pl. 15 nos. 24a, 25 & 26; and the Cherson Steatite of three saints (inv. no. 84/36 445, in Bank, *Byzantine Art in the collections of Soviet Museums*, plate 147).

that the assembly of these rows was not solid, but of the hanging form. In hanging lamellar the rows are suspended from a loose lace that allows them to move up and down considerably. The most common genus of eleventh and twelfth century lamellar looks like this:



Lamellars of this type are depicted with from two to five suspension laces, although in practice even numbers of laces would work best, and since the bottom holes are likely to have been used also to tie rows together on the inside, any more than two exposed laces is rather extravagant redundancy. Hanging lamellar plates often have a vertical overlap of approximately half, which means that any weapon has to penetrate two spaced layers of armour. The great benefits of spaced armour against artillery was re-discovered in the twentieth century and applied to tanks. My own tests confirm that the same benefits apply to medieval use. My reconstructed *klibania* have proven to be completely resistant to thrown and thrust spears, to swords and even proof against arrows.³¹ By comparison mail is proof against none of these attacks, unless they are light or glancing, and scale armour is little better. Koliass proposes the superiority of the *lorikion*

31. These weapons were all sharp reproductions of types in use at the same time as the armour. The arrows were tipped with typical Near Eastern pattern conical armour-piercing points of hardened steel, and fired at 20 metres from a composite recurve style bow peaking at 82 lbs at full 33 inch draw.

over the *klibanion* and its use by officers solely on the basis of their fewer numbers in the ship complements specified in *De Cerimoniis*.³² He overlooks the fact that the author states that the light form of *lorikion* is for the use of men who do not participate in hand to hand combat; siphon crews, helmsmen and lookouts.³³ This is significant. Even if the unattributed 'common' *lorikia* are for officers, it does not imply their superiority. On the contrary there could be advantages in supplying officers with an inferior armour. The Byzantine army was not an ancient or European war-band. The job of its officers was to command, not to lead. Inferior armour might discourage officers from heroic excesses. The imperviousness of the *klibanion* explains the anecdote recounted by Anna Comnena when Alexios took two charges from Frankish cavalry and was merely pushed partly off, then back onto his horse without sustaining any injury.³⁴ Backed by a thick *kabadion*, and mail in the case of someone of status, and covered by an *epilorikion*, an iron lamellar corselet would be almost impenetrable.

Other developments occur in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in addition to riveting. *Kremasmata* continue to be shown, yet the surface patterning on them looks less and less like quilting and becomes increasingly suggestive of some form of lamellar. On a spectacular fresco of Saint Nestor in the Church of Saint Nikolas at Kastoria,³⁵ these hints at another reality become explicit. The sleeves and skirt of the saint's *klibanion* are made of an identical lamellar to the chest, but hung upside down. Long lamellar corselets are well known in the Levant from the early middle ages, however generic styles are consistently homogenous: the lamellar overlaps the same way from neck to knee.³⁶ Inverted lamellar limb pieces have major advantages.

32. Koliai, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 49.

33. *De Cer.*, 669.

34. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, IV, 7.

35. Published in *Istoria tou Ellenikou Ethnous* (Athens 1980) IX, 406.

36. An eighth-century stucco statuette from Mingoi near Sorcuk, in the British Museum, and the tenth century Goliath of Aght'amar, and many warriors in the various mss. of Rashid ad-Din's *World History*, all wear long lamellar corselets, and there is a fine Mongolian iron lamellar harness in the armoury of the Tower of London. For collected examples see Michael Gorelik, 'Oriental Armour in the Near and Middle East from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries as shown in works of art', and David Nicolle, 'An introduction to Arms and Warfare in Classical Islam', both in Robert Elgood (ed.) *Islamic Arms and Armour*, 30-63 and 162-186 respectively.

Blows striking those areas are invariably travelling downwards. In the case of cuts to the thighs the angle is steep and the swing has had a longer arc to develop momentum. Such cuts strike the edges of the tops of the rows in generic lamellar facilitating penetration, while inverted lamellar sheds them, as scale also would.³⁷ Inverted lamellar sleeves also appear on a fresco in the Serpent Church at Göreme.³⁸ It appears to be a distinctively Romano-Byzantine practice albeit of uncertain prevalence, for the only unquestionable precursor to this picture I have found to date is a thigh-guard of inverted leather lamellar of the third or fourth century found at Dura Europos.³⁹ Possibly it was re-introduced in the late tenth or the eleventh century, having fallen out of use in late antiquity as lamellar itself appears to have done. The absence of any mention of lamellar in Procopius and the *Strategikon* attributed to Maurice is striking, and it is by no means certain that the author of the anonymous treatise on strategy is writing of anything more solid than mail.⁴⁰ In a period when the resources of the empire had been, and were still being, stretched by war on several fronts the disappearance of lamellar in favour of mail is hardly surprising, its effectiveness notwithstanding. It occurred for the same reason it recurred in later Byzantium; the expense and complexity of its manufacture. Mail (and scale) is made of small, identical components. The origins of wire drawing are lost in the mists of time. Wire was wound onto a bar then cut into rings. The most exacting part of the operation was to overlap, flatten and punch the ends of each ring to allow it to be riveted shut; a necessity due to the weakness of wrought iron and the fineness of the wire. Mail making was a cottage industry which was not uncommonly practised

37. A *klibanion* with scale sleeves is clearly shown in a thirteenth-century Syriac gospel in the Vatican (Vat. Syr. 559) see Gorelik, 'Oriental Armour in the Near and Middle East from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries as shown in works of art', in Elgood (ed.) *Islamic Arms and Armour*, 52-3 no. 19, and another in the 10-11th century Smyrna Octateuch (Vat. Gr. 746f. 455^r). See David Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era* (New York 1988) 36 and 650, no. 85f.

38. Illustrated in Nicolle, 'An introduction to Arms and Warfare in Classical Islam', in Elgood (ed.) *Islamic Arms and Armour*, 178.

39. H. Russel Robinson and Ronald Embleton, *The Armour of the Roman Legions* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne undated).

40. George T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington 1985) 52-4.

by women in medieval Europe and the same may have been true in Byzantium.⁴¹ Producing scales is only a little more complicated, and the assembly of corselets of mail or scale is a simple, repetitive operation which requires little or no modification of the components to produce a comprehensive garment. On the other hand, to make lamellar one must forge out the metal, trim the plates to shape whatever the material and punch or drill them with at least seven, and often more, holes. Individual plates must then be assembled into horizontal rows and those rows linked vertically to make the *klibanon*. Since lamellar plates are larger than scales,⁴² and the finished fabric is less flexible, the neck and arm openings of the chest piece must be made with specially shaped plates in order to achieve a harness which gives the best possible protection while allowing the necessary freedom of movement and some degree of comfort.

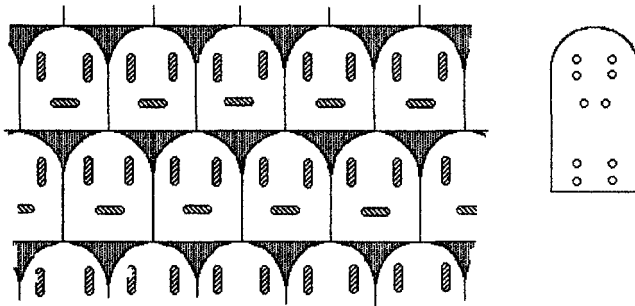
The Nestor icon mentioned already shows other points of detail which are thought-provoking. The backing strip does not show beyond the tops of the plates, which are themselves not rounded at the top. The first characteristic would be a small saving of materials, while the second would be a large saving of labour which otherwise produces a purely cosmetic effect. We should not be surprised to find such short cuts employed in the borderlands. The skirt on Nestor's *klibanon* has no split in the front and so is that of an infantryman. The earlier manuals hardly ever mention the equipment of the infantry (the various authors all seem to regard them as of little importance) and when they do nothing as solid as lamellar is hinted at. Several conclusions might be drawn from the icon. One is that the artist wanted to make the saint accessible by showing him as a common soldier, which is

41. A carving of a woman assisting a smith suggests female involvement in at least lighter forms of metalwork. Tamara Talbot-Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (London 1967) 185.

42. In his otherwise helpful article 'Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries', John Haldon profoundly misconceives the constructional and functional differences between scale and lamellar (14-15). The degree of flexibility of both scale and lamellar varies dramatically depending upon which construction method is used, but the commonest form of scale is very much more flexible than any form of lamellar. For a wide selection of scales and lamellae see Thordeman, *Armour From the Battle of Wisby 1361*, 243-8.

a prevalent theme in Byzantine iconography, and so deviated from his high standard of realism. More plausible is the conclusion that, at least by the twelfth century, there were infantry more heavily armoured than in the tenth century, a possibility consistent with the suggestion of that era being a time of economic improvement.⁴³ A third possibility, which my experiments confirm in practice, is that with the skirts being separate from the chest piece, it is possible to build them in such a way that the same pieces can be assembled with the splits front and back for cavalry use, or at the sides for infantry. This possibility would have benefits for both equipment supply and troop deployment.

One fine illustration provides a valuable contrast to the paradigm set out above. It is the triumphal portrait of Basil II in the Psalter in Saint Mark's Library, Venice. The Emperor wears a *klibanion* constructed thus:



This armour is unique in that it is the only unmistakable depiction of a solid-laced example I have found to date. Two factors indicate its solidity. One is the brick-work pattern, the plates offset horizontally from one row to another. The other is the lack of any laces crossing the boundaries of the rows. The horizontal lace is the one that initially fixes the plates to the backing band and the other lace passes through the top holes of the lower row of plates and the lower holes of the

43. A.P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley 1985) 25-6 and 46-50.

upper row to tie the whole rigidly together. This armour could be used; as I have written earlier, my first cuirass was solid-laced, however its rigidity does make such an armour notably awkward for any activity which requires flexibility. Yet being an imperial parade armour made for symbolic display rather than practicality and protection, such was not a great consideration. Rather it was made for opulence, and necessarily to resemble the classicising artistic convention that we can see in so many works of the tenth century.⁴⁴ Consider the neo-classical excesses of similar European Renaissance armours.

A combination of casting a wider net for evidence and a practical approach to interpreting and testing that evidence can yield a more accurate picture of Byzantine military equipment, a picture which matches a sophistication of equipment to the sophistication of strategic and tactical theory which is found in the literary sources.

*University of New England,
New South Wales, Australia*

44. See manuscripts such as Vat. Reg. Gr. 1B and its counterpart in Paris, B.N.P. Gr. 139, the 'Veroli Casket' in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and sources cited in note 1 above.

Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid. Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop*. Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 2. Aldershot: Variorum, 1997. Pp. xviii, 441.

Marie-France Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre, Introduction, édition et traduction*. Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 3. Aldershot: Variorum, 1997. Pp. x, 357.

Two new books of quite different content are among the first of a new Variorum series, begun in 1996, in collaboration with the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies at Birmingham University. Their publication has certainly been eagerly awaited in the world of Byzantine studies, and if this signals the standard for future works in the series, the Centre and Variorum must certainly be assured of every success.

It should be said from the outset that Mullett's *Theophylact* goes greatly beyond the scope implied in the title. Despite her modest statement at the beginning, 'This is a book about a text. And it is about reading that text' (p. 1), the work has a far wider range and depth. While starting with a study of the 135 letters of the metropolitan, as published by P. Gautier (CFHB XVI/ 2, Thessalonike 1986), the author also provides us with a book on Byzantine epistolography that can be used independently of individual personalities or periods. This is worth stressing because while in recent years there has been a considerable increase in the number of critical editions of texts,¹ they do not appear to have prompted a corresponding increase in broader synthesis and research. Thus the two classic articles by I. Sykutres ('Epistolographie', *RE* suppl. V [1930], 185-220, and 'Probleme der byzantinischen Epistolographie', *IIIe Congr. Intern. Ét. Byz., Compte-Rendu*, Athens 1932, 295-310), very fine studies in their own way, nevertheless today seem to bear the marks of ageing; the works of Smetanin remain inaccessible, or, at best, resistant to easy access;² and the *Βυζαντινὴ Ἐπιστολογραφία* of N.B. Tomadakes (Athens³ 1969)³ tends mainly to expand the lines of research set out by Sykutres. We have the book of G. Karlsson, *Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine* (Uppsala² 1962), with a pioneering structure and genuine innovations, but whose original conception unfortunately was never fully realised. And works such as *Letters and Letter-collections* by G. Constable (Turnhout 1976) continue to be a desideratum for Byzantine studies, a point that is made by Mullett (*Theophylact*, p. 13).

Earlier studies by Mullett have amply demonstrated her skills in textual and linguistic inquiry — an area of study that has flourished in recent years — and the present book serves to highlight this competence, which is applied always with impressive critical acumen. This is undoubtedly one of *Theophylact's* main

1. By way of example, I cite here two recent publications: the letters of Theodore the Studite, edited by G. Fatouros (CFHB XXXI/ 1-2, Berlin 1992), and the letters of Ignatios the Deacon, edited by C. Mango (CFHB XXXIX, Dumbarton Oaks 1997).

2. See P. Hatlie, 'Redeeming Byzantine Epistolography', *BMGS* 20 (1996) 213-248, esp. 213-217.

3. Mullett, *Theophylact*, 13 n. 4, should have used the more recent edition of *Βυζαντινὴ Ἐπιστολογραφία*, which is much larger than the earlier edition.

strengths, and certainly serves to give it the qualities of the best of modern scholarship, while Mullett never yields to the temptation to merely plod along the paths of the latest theoretical fads.⁴ The book contains six chapters. The first, 'Text and Context' (pp. 1-10), may be described as an introduction to the general problems that are addressed throughout the work; it presents the theoretical structure on which the entire book is built, with a plethora of references (sometimes their abundance — a feature of the book as a whole — is a little wearying) to people, things and theories. The following part of the book is of special interest: basing her approach on Jauss, Mullett examines the milieu of the writer-Theophylact, as well as the epistolary genre in which he chose to cultivate his art (Genre and Milieu, pp. 11-78). This investigation does not, however, focus solely on Theophylact; rather it traces epistolary features and principles as developed by the genre itself from the earliest years of the Empire, in interesting combination with various views that have been expressed on the genre (such as, for example, the highly negative position of Jenkins). In the same chapter there is an important account of the reception of the letter (which was often accompanied by gifts) by its addressee, as well as of the historical and literary background to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The central chapters of *Theophylact*, however, are the third and fourth, sharing the same title, 'Collection and Network' (pp. 79-222). The title would seem to echo modern IT terminology, and this is also reflected in the extensive use of diagrams and tables. One part of Chapter Three is devoted to the dating of Theophylact, revising or supplementing Gautier, while attention is also given to his personality as evidenced in his letters: his anxieties about his health or about the health of his addressees, the bonds of friendship that they shared, or the daily problems and concerns that occupied him. However, the most interesting part of the investigation carried out in these two chapters is the section devoted to rhetoric (pp. 133-161). Mullett very rightly stresses that 'In general I take rhetoric to mean the art of persuasive communication . . . [and] the verbal . . . part of ceremonial, the maintenance of due proportion and order' (p. 133). Mullett breaks new ground here; she does not wish to examine style or prosarhythmus, but rather to identify the points where Theophylact departs from the ready-made patterns that were laid out for him in the textbooks and manuals, such as the *typoi epistolimaioi*, the Pseudo-Menander, or the rules for letter-writing that had been drawn up by Gregory of Nazianzus (i.e., brevity, clarity and grace). Mullett describes the ways in which Theophylact distances himself from Gregory of Nazianzus, stressing that he was no mere imitator as more superficial scholarship would have him.⁵ It is at this point that a number of questions come to the reader's mind: without doubt, in order to get the most benefit from this study

4. See, for example, *Theophylact*, 4f., 23f., and 75 where Mullett chooses to differ from Kazhdan's verdict; the same occurs on p. 109, 129 and passim, while on p. 290 she refers to 'Kazhdanian ruthlessness' in the reading of certain texts.

5. Mullett's comments on the way Theophylact refers to ancient authors are well worth noting (*Theophylact*, 160).

one has to have Gautier's edition close at hand.⁶ When, for example, we are concerned with matters of style in a language, as in the case of medieval Greek, I am not convinced that the presentation of various passages, whether of shorter or greater length (see, for example, p. 159 and 161 respectively), in translation is sufficient to provide the answers we are looking for. Surely it is preferable, even in the form of a footnote, as we see in the work of Kustas, to have, at least in part, the original text close by on the page so that the reader has an opportunity to judge for himself. After all, both the *position* and the *use* of a particular word in a phrase plays a vital role in the rhetorical function of a text, where nothing has been left to chance by the writer, as we are given to understand from Mullett's own reading.

One of the most pioneering chapters of Theophylact is that dealing with the Network of the metropolitan. It is usually the practice for editors of Byzantine letters to arrange the recipients of the letters into groups. Mullett, however, forges a quite different yet intriguing course, more familiar from the field of social history: taking as a starting point the forms of address used by Theophylact to his addressees (*adelphos*, *authentēs*, *kyr*, *philtatos* etc.), while considering, of course, the content of the letters themselves and the standing or qualities of the recipients of the letters, Mullett has arranged them into spheres of importance relative to Theophylact, from the most intimate to the most circumstantial, as well as listing all the personalities mentioned in the letters so as to arrange them into more specific groups according to their age, sex, origins etc. The use of diagrams is particularly helpful in allowing the reader to assess the information given, all of which is important for an understanding of the intellectual and social background to the epistolographer. Another original feature of the work are the two extensive tables, 'The Collection' (pp. 291-346) and 'The Network' (pp. 347-381), indicating the depth of the material covered by Mullett. The first is a kind of *regeste* of each letter, recording the addressee, the date, the corresponding letter in Gautier's edition, the incipit and desinit (unfortunately, there are various mistakes in the Greek), a short summary of the letter's contents, and a word count for each letter, the provenance and, lastly, bibliography where applicable. The second table gives a short prosopographical note on all the personalities mentioned by Theophylact, together with relevant bibliographical references.

Chapter Five (pp. 223-277) bears the title 'Author and Man', and Chapter Six (pp. 279-290) 'Context and Text'. How, Mullett asks, should we view Theophylact in the light of new textual and authorial theories? Is the metropolitan an *actor*? and what does *actor* really mean in Byzantine literary terms? Barthes, Foucault and Nehamas are mobilised in order to give the reader an initial orientation, although I am not certain that the reader is sufficiently equipped from the discussion here to take a position on this far from lightweight theoretical issue, although Mullett does not go so far as to remove the concept of *actor* from Byzantium (p. 225). She also carries out a subtle comparative analysis of the letters and Theophylact's work as a whole in a generally successful effort to identify affinities stylistiques, pointing out motifs — exile, for instance — that recur throughout

6. I realise that this need for the other edition at one's side is a little inconvenient.

his work. This approach, combining as it does both conventional and new ideas, offers much and essentially gives new vigour to scholarly debate concerning Byzantine literary phenomena.

I. Ševčenko has characterised the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* as 'a jewel of the hagiography of the iconoclastic period'.⁷ There is little reason to question this view, which stands as confirmation of the great popularity of the Life among modern scholars. The fact, of course, that the Life was written in the short interval between the two Iconoclasms gives it special historical significance. The new critical edition of the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* by Marie-France Auzépy — her earlier article 'Une lecture "iconoclaste" de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune' *TM* 8 (1981), 415-436, is well known to scholars — is therefore very welcome.

Auzépy's edition follows the usual pattern: four parts, with the first ('Le contexte', pp. 5-42) devoted to the author and the background which gave rise to the Life, together with the Iconoclast controversy in the time of the reign of Constantine V (741-775).⁸ In the second part the manuscript tradition of the text (there are nineteen pre-Metaphrast manuscripts) and earlier editions of the Life are examined, while Auzépy also discusses the approach adopted in the French translation ('La tradition manuscrite', pp. 43-82). The actual critical edition of the text occupies the third part of the book (pp. 83-178), and the fourth and last part contains the French translation. The latter is accompanied by a commentary that is principally of a historical nature, although there are also a number of literary notes, limited however to interpretative problems associated with various words and phrases of the Greek text ('Traduction annotée, pp. 179-277). At the back of the book are a bibliography (pp. 279-295) and indices (pp. 297-357).⁹

The volume contains a technical problem: the fact that the French translation of the Life is printed after the Greek text makes cross reference somewhat awkward. I am not aware of this having been done before; it is generally customary for the translation to be printed on the opposite page to the original in order to facilitate reference and comparison. If it was necessary for part of the book to be printed separately (presumably for financial reasons), surely this could have been the commentary rather than the translation, as we see, for example, in Mary Cunningham's *Life of Michael the Synkellos*.

Auzépy has concentrated much of her research on the Iconoclast period, and it hardly comes as a surprise that she demonstrates in her introduction a wide

7. I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period', in: A. Bryer-Judith Herrin (eds.), *Iconoclasm* (Centre for Byzantine Studies/University of Birmingham 1977) 113-131, esp. 115.

8. Auzépy (*La Vie*, 9) produces fairly convincing evidence that the Life was written in 809, in contrast to previous scholars who, on the basis of a literal reading of the text, have tended to prefer 806/7.

9. Unfortunately the Index des citations scripturaires (pp. 297-298) is virtually impossible to use since correspondences with the passages of the Life are not cited. As for the Index graecitatis (pp. 299-344), there are a number of mistakes: for example ἀβελτερία; the index does not refer to the word ἀναβολή (§ 49 [150, 10] but cites ἀναβάλλειν instead; and the name Χριστόφορος is not to be found in § 51 (152, 20). It is hard to imagine why Auzépy chooses to use the infinitive form of the verb as the reference form in the index. There is also no indication of rare words and usages, hapax legomena, etc.

knowledge of the bibliography for this period: she has gathered all the available material and has subjected it to a penetrating and wide-ranging examination.¹⁰ She also gives a methodical and careful presentation of the manuscripts that preserve the Life, although she does not commit herself to a specific view with regard to their dating, something about which scholars seem to have markedly different opinions, as, for example, with manuscripts B, C, E, F, I and others.¹¹ The stemma which Auzépy presents for us is judged to be 'likely' (*Vie*, p. 75), although this would seem to undermine the text she adopts inasmuch, of course, as we can talk of a strict textual tradition for hagiographical writings. I am not convinced, however, that the presence of O in the stemma does indeed complicate the picture (*ibid.*). One result of this rationale, together with other evidence that is not always entirely persuasive (e.g., P and R, the two very interesting 'manuscripts à deux modèles', are not taken into consideration), was that, finally, ten manuscripts were used for the critical edition, although they are not always evident in the apparatus criticus since the editor decided that if just one of the manuscripts is the sole witness to a reading then it is not recorded in the apparatus unless, by coincidence, one of the codices eliminandi also contain the same reading (*Vie*, p. 80).

The critical edition is in general reliable. I note here a few corrections, some points that may otherwise cause confusion, and some omissions: § 2 (90, 7): καὶ παῖσι-γινόμενος: cf. 1 Cor. 9, 22; § 4 (92, 19): θυγατέρων καλλώπισμα: cf. Ps. 143, 12; § 5 (93, 12): should read παναγλάιστος; § 5 (93, 15): the accent ἐνθρόνισαν clearly needs to be moved to the proparoxytone (it is also accented thus in the index); § 11 (102, 9): the reading τῶν οὐρανῶν should have been preferred; (102, 11): should read τῷ ἐν (cf. app. crit.); § 12 (103, 15): read ἀπρόιτον; § 14 (105, 25): the addition of Ἰωάννης in S and A would seem to make the text more intelligible at this point; the same applies in § 17 (108, 28) for the reading ἀναπληρῶσαι ἀγώνισμα, as also in § 22 (118, 7) for the reading καὶ πρώτοι; § 20 (114, 1): read πῶς; § 21 (116, 2): read γνωστούς; the line numbering of p. 120 is incorrect; § 25 (120, 21): should read ὕπερ (cf. app. crit.); § 25 (121, 1): the reading ἀσπιδηφόρος is, of course, a lectio difficilior; § 26 (121, 13): the relevant note in the critical apparatus on the word θρῆνος has been omitted; § 27 (123, 21-22): ὁ τὰ ζιζάνια στείρας ἐχθρός: Matth. 13, 25; § 28 (125, 22): should read ποταμοῦ Τιβερίου, as in codices CDAH; § 28 (126, 17-18): δοκιμώτερον ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ χρυσός: cf. Prov. 17, 3; App.

10. Sometimes, however, she seems to stretch the evidence too far: her claim that part of Theophanes' Chronicle was written by George Synkellos (*Vie*, 21 and n. 4) requires more substantial argument and evidence, and the bibliography cited at this point seems to be contradictory. The doctoral thesis of Eleonora Kountoura-Galake, *Ὁ βυζαντινὸς κληρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τῶν 'σκοτεινῶν αἰώνων'* (Institute for Byzantine Research, 3, Athens 1996) came out too late for inclusion in Auzépy's volume. However the study by Eleni Papaeliopoulou-Photopoulou, 'Ἀγιολογικὰ καὶ Ὑμνογραφικὰ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον τὸν Νέον ἐν τοῖς Καίουμα ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκονομάχων ἀθλήσαντα', *Diptycha* 1 (1979) 53-96, could have been taken into consideration.

11. The description of codex I does not include the name of K.A. de Meyier, who drew up the relevant manuscript catalogue. Perhaps also there should have been a separate discussion of *who* corrected the manuscript, as happened in the case of Codex E: are the corrections written in the same hand as the text, or has another scribe intervened?

Prov. 5, 8; Greg. Cyr. L 3, 22; Apost. 17, 66; § 29 (127, 18): τὰ ὅσα καὶ νεφροὶ καρδίας: cf. Ps. 7, 10; § 30 (129, 13): a comma should be placed after the word τινὰ; § 30 (129, 22): should read κύρι ὦ πατρίκιος (also in § 44 [144, 4] and the index); § 32 (131, 21): I am not convinced that we should prefer ἐφουσάτευσεν to the ἐφωσάτευον of D (cf. also e.g. § 35 [134, 6]; § 38 (138, 6): διορθώσοιτο!; § 39 (139, 12): the reading ποιήσωμεν seems preferable (cf. 139, 10 ῥίψωμεν); § 46 (147, 15): should read περιχαρής; § 49 (149, 20-21): πίστιν – μεθίστασθαι: cf. 1 Cor. 13, 2; (149, 24): μὴ! (the same applies also to § 57 [159, 13. 19] and elsewhere); § 55 (156, 4): for λεπτά read ληπτὰ; § 55 (157, 9-13): the punctuation here is problematical; there should be commas after παρέπεμψεν and τοῦτον; § 61 (163, 5): καὶ χρηστός–συμπαθής: cf. Ps. 85, 5; § 65 (166, 28): the ἔφη of codex A should be left in the text (cf. § 66 [167, 13]); § 69 (169, 23): τὼ χεῖρε!; (170, 3): should probably read Φιλομάτης; § 75 (174, 19): instead of τῶν we should read τινων, as preserved in FSC; § 78 (177, 10-11): Μονὴν–οἰκίαν: cf. Luc. 19, 2 sq.; (177, 15): Συγκέρασον–οἶνον: cf. Luc. 10, 34.

The French translation of the Life of St. Stephen the Younger is quite satisfactory and it is obvious that Auzépy made every effort to preserve and render the peculiar characteristics of this very important hagiographical text. The same applies to the commentary which provides answers to almost all problems that arise. Omissions and mistakes (e.g., Roueche) are very few.¹² It is a pity, however, that there is no discussion of the undoubtedly high literary standing of the Life. Descriptions such as that in § 41 (141, 11-26), which shares striking similarities with the episode of Christ at the Praetorium, surely should not be passed over in silence.¹³

**A. Markopoulos,
University of Crete**

12. The bibliography on the Broumalia could have included the article by J.R. Crawford, 'De Bruma et Brumalibus festis', *BZ* 23 (1914-19) 365-396.

13. Recent investigations in this field by A. Kazhdan and L.F.S. Sherry produced very interesting results: 'The Tale of a Happy Fool: The *Vita* of St. Philaretos the Merciful (*BHG* 1511z-1512b)', *B* 66 (1996) 351-362.

Neni Panourgíá, *Fragments of Death, Fables of Identity. An Athenian Anthropography*. Madison, Wisconsin: U of Wisconsin Press. Pp. xxiii, 242, 27 plates.

This is a compelling and courageous book. Developing the “‘auto’-anthropological” leads of George Marcus, Marilyn Strathern and others, Panourgíá skilfully weaves together in the course of her narrative the double themes of death and identity. She does so not in the rural/provincial contexts studied by du Boulay (1974), Danforth (1982), Herzfeld (1985), Dubisch (ed. 1986), Seremetakis (1991), Hart (1992), nor in the urban districts of Pireas in which the ‘heirs to the Greek catastrophe’ had to re-create their sense of self in the aftermath of 1922 (Hirschon 1989). Her focus is ‘Athens’, from its inception as metropolis of the Greek nation state — then a sleepy old town on whose slopes ‘Arvanites’ grazed pigs and flocks alongside ‘Hellenes’ who spoke an outlandish old dialect — to its cosmopolitan now, with sprawling unfinished concrete blocks as if parodying past aspirations to become ‘the Paris of the East’. What is more, her story (or ‘Athenian anthropography’) is compiled from histories on both sides of her family, with astute references to architecture, travellers’ accounts and popular culture. From Athens with love, but no sentimentality.

Eyebrows will be raised on first perusal of her preface and footnotes (she calls them ‘promythion’ and ‘parerga’); but the book should not be put down too hastily by even the most obdurate pedant. Readers will find in Part I (‘Fragments of Cosmos’) a subtle analysis of the complex historical, socio-political and cultural phenomena that have moulded ‘Athens’, that maddeningly endearing city of present and past dreams and disillusionments. Like Patricia Storace (with whose *Dinner With Persephone* her immediacy of style invites comparison), she writes with a keen eye for detail and a penchant for description, bringing into focus the everyday and not so everyday incidents (where football teams and political allegiances meet or diverge, or how to turn a girl’s name into a boy’s) that make up the bigger picture of that indefinable ‘homo Athenaeensis’. Panourgíá has the advantage of being — both figuratively and literally — ‘one of the family’ she writes about, whether to chide as parent or chafe as child. As an anthropologist, she offers more than Storace’s incisive but journalistic strictures on attitudes to women; as an insider, she can see beyond James Faubion’s gaze at élites (1993). Her unusual blend of description and analysis at once captivates and enlightens the reader.

The Athenian experience of being catapulted from the middle ages into global post-modernism within a short period of time has been more than matched in today’s world, hence many readers unfamiliar with Greece will recognise familiar traces left by pre-modern values and customs on the face of industrialisation and technologisation, especially where questions of identity and mortality are concerned. On naming customs, funeral rituals, medicine versus ‘magic’, and their potential for causing family disputes, the book affords a wealth of authenticated detail, demonstrating the tenacity of what Stanley Tambiah has called a ‘conception of the cosmos, in which man and transcendental entities share certain similar properties and capacities, and can have relations of reciprocity, exchange and even coercion, and in which objects and forces that exist apart from and anterior to them can be employed . . .’ (*Magic, Science and Religion*, Cambridge UP: 1990, pp. 7-8).

Moreover, since her subjects are urban, sophisticated members of the Greek Orthodox church, her evidence invites us to modify Tambiah's explicit opposition between 'Judaean-Christian monotheism' on the one hand and 'polytheism and non-dualism' on the other (p. 7). Her book therefore provides a model for other urban 'anthropographies', for instance in Latin America.

In Part II ('Fragments of Cosmos'), Panourgíá documents four unexpected deaths that struck her family and close ones during her fieldwork (causing her to change its focus from 'rebetika' to death), and analyses their wider significance. Her testimonies afford moving but never maudlin insights into how profoundly Greek ways of coping with death and mourning differ from our own. Unlike Part I, where 'Parerga' are set out as numbered end-notes, Part II comprises a two-tiered narrative: on top 'Thanatos' plays out the drama of her notes and tapes (with some repeats from earlier chapters); below, 'Parerga' ad-lib in running commentary, much like Julia Kristeva's marginalia on the 'Stabat Mater' ('Hérétique de l'amour', *Tel Quel* 74 1977: 30-49). My reservations on this departure from conventional modes of footnoting are not so much that it is distracting (although I find it so), but that the lens never moves far enough away from the Self, so that what happens in 'her story' is allowed to over-determine both points of commentary and selection of secondary references.

Let me give one example. Readers would be justified in concluding from this book that the lament has died out in Athens, even if the rituals and ceremonies, squabbles and loves that have engendered and empowered the genre over the ages live on, albeit in changed forms. You will search the Index in vain for entries under 'lament'/'dirge', although somewhere in a *parergon* she expresses a personal distaste for 'uncontrolled weeping'. Had she sought to learn from Athenian funerals outside her own circle, she could not have failed to come across such instances as the following two, cited from Dimitra Scavdi's *The Lament in Greek Traditional Society* (Ph.D.: U. of Birmingham, 1983): *Aunt x*, from Epiros, died in Athens, where she had been living with her daughters in a neighbourhood with a strong Epirot presence: her two daughters wanted no fuss, just a decent ceremony. On the day before the funeral, kinswomen from her village travelled down to lament her passing. Respectable daughters failed to silence these women's voices: 'Tomorrow is her day, we will do as she wanted. After that, do as you please'. They lamented, and went back to Epiros. *Aunt y* visited Athens, after 25 years' absence in 'Amérika'. In the course of her stay, her only brother died of a heart attack in Omonoia Square. At the funeral, fashionably dressed and coiffed, she was moved by the unprepared laments of her relatives to sing impromptu her own verses along traditional lines: 'Ahh, Omónoia Square, a thousand curses on you! I'll never step across your cruel paths again! You stole my only brother!' The language of *ponos* was internalised, dormant but perhaps sharpened rather than silenced by absence from loved ones. Panourgíá's testimonies are not invalidated by Scavdi's; yet the book would have been richer had she been aware of them, and others like them where Athenian 'fables of identity' include family networks extending to Boiotia, Evvia, Kythira, Epiros, Peloponnese, Crete, Mani. Scavdi's thesis is unpublished but not inaccessible; Holst-Warhaft's book (1992: 96) cites similar cases (not her own) from Maniot families in Athens/Pireas. If it

is scholarship we aspire to, reference to Self does not exclude the Other.

In Part III ('Fragments of Memory'), Chapters 6 to 8 entice us into 'La Longue Durée' (pp. 143-67), out to 'Space *Sémata*' (168-99), and finally to 'Positions and Signs' (200-18). No panoply of references to anthropological theory can conceal gaps in bibliographical homework. Instead of the broader comparative questions and perspectives we are led to expect, the Text offers yet more family narratives (on Easter Week; on graves as markers; on mourning practices), interspersed with a few odd literary citations. Her Parerga to Chapter 6 stretch to a four-page version of the Lament for Christ she recorded from Kalymnos in 1982 (pp. 163-67), but without bibliographical reference to Bertrand Bouvier's magnificent monograph (with texts), *Le Mirologue de la Vierge* (1976). Changing bad 'continuity' word for fashionable 'longue durée' does not mean that you can see with myopic lenses! In the Parerga to her penultimate chapter 'Space', she raises the (apparently new) question, which she is 'not prepared to answer yet': 'Are these . . . religious gestures incorporated into Orthodoxy from the pre-existing ancient Greek religion, a syncretism whose nature has eluded us completely? Or is this something that was adopted from Catholicism, through the repeated contacts of Orthodox Christians with the Catholics, both before the Schism . . . ? Or is it perhaps . . . ?' Le Goff's broad speculations are recapitulated (pp. 196-97, n. 17), but there is only one passing reference in the whole book — on a quite different point (p. 83) — to Charles Stewart's *Demons and the Devil* (Princeton UP: 1991), the richest anthropological and ethnographic study on Greek religion since Lawson (1910). Nothing on B.C. Dieterich or B. Schmidt!

While Panourgíá's venture into the domain of the Self and Subject is to be welcomed, her less than generous recognition of predecessors and peers is not. My own work on the lament is well enough established for readers to judge for themselves the rigour of her references (*The ritual lament in Greek tradition*: Cambridge 1974; see also *BMGS* 1. 1975, 111-40, on Virgin's lament; *Byzantina-Metabyzantina* 1978, 221-36, on present/past beliefs in afterlife). But why no reference whatsoever to Gail Holst-Warhaft's *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (Routledge: 1992), a study that stems from personal experience no less intense than her own (sojourns with death and birth in hospitals, loss of an only son), but nevertheless meticulously acknowledges all relevant sources? Or to Laurie Kain Hart's *Time, Religion and Social Change in Rural Greece* (Rowman and Littlefield: 1992), arguably a mirror-image of her own book? Greek/'Arvanitiko' identities are analysed across time and amidst rapid change in a world where 'urban' and 'rural' are categories hard to separate. Moreover, Hart's concluding comments allow more than speculations in an extended *parergon* on 'la longue durée': Hart gently questions du Boulay's assumption that traditional values may have died out along with mountain villages: 'Because villagers have through the generations lost contact with this earlier, theocratic cosmology, they now possess only the forms, and little of the "intellectual content", of the "beliefs and customs which it involved"' (1974:257). The villager, according to du Boulay, retains a sense of respect for traditional knowledge while he or she loses the understanding of why he or she follows these "patterns of life". So the forms become rigid, or they weaken and give way to the style of a modern rationality'

(Hart p. 265). Hart supplements du Boulay's (and Tambiah's) formulations with new data, inviting us to take 'a less intellectualist, and more practical, approach to the nature of religion . . . in modern circumstances'. That means including non-verbal, non-rational means of communication (such as the ikon) if we wish to understand how and why Greek ways of thinking/doing persist.

καὶ ψυχὴ

εἰ μέλλεσθαι γνῶσεσθαι αὐτήν

εἰς ψυχὴν βλέπτεον·

τὸν ξένο καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸ τὸν εἶδαμε στὸν καθρέφτη.

George Seferis, 'Argonauts'.

Panourgiá cites Seferis' epigraph from Plato as an epigraph to Chapter 4 ('The Self'), but sees no more than her family in the looking glass. If she needed to look to the past, she could do better on *kollyva* than cite the Suda as 'Soudias' (p. 132), or on *ekphora* than cite the 1871 Greek translation of Liddell and Scott (p. 140, n. 6). These last two points may seem minor quibbles, but are they symptomatic of a generation that desires to find its Self fragmented, its Past a palimpsest, with little interest in other Others? The book is boldly conceived, yet carelessly served. If I want dinner without pretensions, maybe I'd rather have a snack with Persephone after all . . .

**Margaret Alexiou,
Harvard University**

Paul Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Travaux et mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 9. Paris: Boccard, 1996. Pp. 120.

The study of Constantinople usually progresses in fits and starts, with the occasional great synthetic leap forward. The fits and starts are provided by studies of individual monuments or single themes, sometimes — as in *Constantinople and its hinterland*, the papers delivered at the Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies at Oxford in 1993¹ — conveniently collected together. Many monographic studies are in themselves profoundly important because they circulate a wealth of new information about a given site and its context: the five volumes on the Kariye Camii are indispensable, and a recent contribution to this genre, the final report on the Kalenderhane, is also impressive.² Other monographic studies are important because they use the material excavated from a single site as a base from which to survey larger issues: the second volume of the Saraçhane (Hagios Polyeyktos) excavations, for example, remains the essential guide to Middle Byzantine pottery.³ The leaps forward are fewer and further between. For my generation of Byzantinists, they have probably been best represented by Cyril Mango's *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen 1958) and Gilbert Dagron's *Constantinople imaginaire* (Paris 1984). Paul Magdalino's *Constantinople médiévale* pays homage to both of these scholars and to their contributions to our understanding of the Byzantine capital. Magdalino does not aim to compete with or duplicate Mango's and Dagron's scholarly depth in his short book — the two chapters expand on two lectures given at the Collège de France in 1994, and these are supplemented with a brief introduction, an even briefer conclusion, and two short appendices — but he approaches their contributions in his scope and in his attempt at the long view.

Magdalino has two main and deeply interesting points, each built up from a sequence of small arguments set apart in the text by sub-headings; and the main lines of his argument are convincing however one may question minor details of its exposition. His first point, developed over most of the first chapter, is that until the tenth century Constantinople remained a late antique city. Magdalino argues that the emperors Justinian, Justin II and Maurice between them essentially shaped the city as it was known until the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944). The 'decline' of the so-called dark ages was not, according to Magdalino, particularly evident in Constantinople; and while the emperor often credited with the restoration of the post-Iconoclast city to its former grandeur, Basil I (867-886), certainly renovated major prestige monuments, Magdalino points out that he basically focused his repairs on buildings outside of the old Constantinian walls that had sustained earthquake damage in 869. Magdalino stresses the essential

1. C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds. (Aldershot 1995).

2. P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols. (Princeton 1966); P.A. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami 4: Studies on the art of the Kariye Djami* (Princeton 1975); R.G. Ousterhout, *The architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington DC 1987). C.L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The buildings, their history, architecture, and decoration* (Mainz 1997).

3. J.W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul 2, The pottery* (Princeton 1992).

'romanity' of the city, and shows again and again how fifth- and sixth-century structures were not abandoned or destroyed but were instead transformed by changes of ownership and function. The Myrelaion provides a well-known example. Developed by Romanos I around an old estate (?), with which it was carefully harmonised by building up the ground level, the complex became a monastery: old and new construction coexisted in an apparently seamless unit.⁴

Magdalino's second point is that developments of the mid-tenth century led to a new urban configuration, with the two main foci — the Hagia Sophia/Akropolis area at the point and, in the northwest, the area between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls around (but mostly east of) the Blachernai Palace — linked by a commercial strip along the Golden Horn that was dominated by foreign merchants, and where the Italians were eventually given quarters and port space. Magdalino places the evidence for the 100 or so new monasteries founded between 750 and 1204 alongside the evidence for mercantile development and argues that the combination indicates demographic expansion, and an evolution of urban space.

Constantinople médiévale is an overview of topographic developments that focuses on the relatively neglected Middle Byzantine period rather than a detailed study incorporating new information on 'the monuments'. This framework is, however, supported by observations on a number of individual urban features. In addition to the great estates (*oikoi*) and ecclesiastic structures mentioned earlier, Magdalino pays particular attention to baths and their transformation from civic to ecclesiastic centres (31-34), bakeries and granaries (21-25), ports and trade (19-21, 78-90), and the association of certain churches with notaries, notarial schools and centres of secondary education (34-40). Virtually all of these subsections contain new material and fresh insights — on, for example, the apparent transformation of the Lamia granary into a public bakery with eating facilities during the reign of Eirene, or the development by Alexios I of the Orphanotropheion on the Akropolis as, among other things, an attempt to outshine the Mangana complex of Constantine IX Monomachos — that complement Magdalino's major themes. *Constantinople médiévale* is a valuable study of the Byzantine capital not only because it focuses on a neglected period but also (and perhaps primarily) because from his collection of material Magdalino has generated patterns of urban development that are entirely convincing.

Leslie Brubaker, Birmingham

4. See esp. 24-25, 42, 65-66; and C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton 1981).

Peter Brown, *Authority and the Sacred. Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xiii, 91.

Christianisation of the late Roman empire was a process which helped to create the distinctive culture and values of Western Medieval Europe and the Byzantine Empire. No historian would deny this essential fact, but views have differed concerning how long it took for a dominant pagan culture to be replaced by Christianity and how deeply the new religion penetrated certain classes of society, especially the rural populations. Recent studies have revealed that pagan beliefs and practices still existed in various parts of the empire as late as the seventh century; on the other hand, there can be no doubt that emperors from Constantine to Theodosius I actively destroyed pagan temples and the practices associated with them, effectively associating the Christian religion with the idea of an autocratic and authoritarian state.

In this slim volume, which brings to print three lectures delivered at Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1993, Peter Brown brings all his erudition and sophisticated scholarship to a reconsideration of the issues set out above. The lectures, which claim to study no more than 'aspects' of this enormous subject, focus on three key issues: first, a re-examination of what Brown calls 'the dominant narrative of Christianisation', namely the story of a rapid and triumphant process which circulated in Christian circles in the early fifth century; second, the extent of intolerance among both pagans and Christians in this period; and finally, the rôle of the holy man as a focus of authority and as an effective 'facilitator in the transition from paganism to Christianity'. While none of these questions is new, Brown offers fresh insights in the course of his cogitations. The characteristic use of metaphors, such as the image of paganism as an intricate sand castle gradually being destroyed by the inexorable, advancing waves, may be at times distracting, but offers memorable visual conceptualisations of processes which do, as Brown points out in his introduction, still need considerable further study.

In his reconsideration of the christianisation of the Roman empire in the first chapter, Peter Brown now only assigns the idea of a rapid conversion to its proper place, as the fabrication of fifth-century Christian historians and polemicists, but he also re-examines the extent to which this process actually changed the current world-view. We are vividly reminded of the way in which the fourth-century universe was 'rustling with the presence of many divine beings' (p. 6) for pagans and Christians alike. Christians initially adopted an imaginative approach to this problem, acknowledging the presence and power of lower spirits while proclaiming the supreme authority of one transcendent God. While in no way minimising the creation of a radical new *Weltanschauung* in this period, Brown locates this in its contemporary culture, showing how Christians could not only continue to participate in pagan customs, but also subscribe to a form of imperial ceremonial which was totally pagan in its symbolic forms.

A similar emphasis on continuity rather than change characterises Brown's assessment of religious tolerance in the later Roman empire. Here, the subtle re-interpretation of evidence leads occasionally to an opaqueness which is difficult to penetrate, but it is worth reading this chapter carefully for the illuminating insights which it does in fact contain. After disposing of the notions of tolerance

and intolerance which are associated mainly with pagan philosophers and Christian apologists, Brown focusses on the actual day-to-day workings of society. Here, in spite of the existence of an increasing number of uncompromising and oppressive laws, he argues that weight of tradition in fact dictated a policy of tolerant *laissez-faire*. This was based partly on a code of conduct among the educated upper classes which depended on the virtues of *paideia*, including courtesy and self restraint, and partly on a pragmatic recognition that stirring up local rebellion or unrest was usually counter-productive to the interests of the state. The emperor Arcadius's putative statement about Gaza, 'I know that the city is full of idols, but it shows *devotio* (*eugnômonēi*) in paying its taxes, and contributes much to the treasury. If we suddenly terrorise these people, they will run away and we will lose considerable revenues' (p. 42), is illustrative of this problem. The annual collection of taxes represented in most cases a far more pressing consideration for emperors than did the suppression of paganism.

Brown's final chapter, on the rôle of the holy man in facilitating the spread of Christianity, is a fascinating reassessment of the position which he set out so clearly and influentially in his article of 1971, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man . . .'.¹ This does not represent a complete change of view, but rather an attempt to assess the phenomenon in the context of its wider background. Brown reveals here a more subtle method of assessing the primary sources, as he correctly identifies the didactic aims lying behind the composition of saints' lives. Against their unquestioning and timeless message should be set statements like that of a farmer of Lycia who was unimpressed when told of his neighbour's visits to the saint, Nicholas of Sion: 'What is this "servant of God"? As the Lord God lives, I would not put my trust in any man on earth' (p. 58). Once the initial hesitations about attributing holiness to men on earth were overcome, however, saints like Symeon the Stylite became foci of a new sort of authority in the world. Brown is surely right that figures like this, who stood outside the traditional boundaries of secular and religious authority, played a significant rôle in the surrender of paganism to Christianity.

This small but provocative book will provide ample and continuous food for thought among historians of the late Antique, Byzantine and Western Medieval periods. Like Robert Markus's *The End of Ancient Christianity*² it re-examines assumptions long held by scholars and provides some startling new insights. As Brown himself states in his introduction, it is regrettable that we are deprived of the lively and at times disputatious discussion which the lectures provoked on delivery, but what survives of that encounter in print is nevertheless worth having. Above all, it is clear that study of the late antique period and the critical assessment of the primary sources has not yet finished; it has only just begun.

Mary B. Cunningham,
The University of Birmingham

1. Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971) 80-101.

2. Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge 1990).

Peter Lock, G.D.R. Sanders, eds., *The archaeology of medieval Greece*. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 59, 1996. Pp. vi, 192.

The editors of this book can be commended for taking the risk of putting a new offshoot of Greek archaeology on display in this way. The problems raised need to be defined without in any way suggesting that this publishing venture is not useful or significant. To begin with the title of the book, this implies a work of synthesis, although if we follow its editors' line that 'Medieval archaeology is still very much at the stage of discovery and record', we should not expect one. It is in fact a collective work (twelve short to medium-length papers), which, given the state of the subject, is only to be expected and is potentially advantageous. Works such as this are typically the result of a colloquium or seminar which tries to deal with certain agreed issues. The editors do not seem to have sought that kind of coherence though ('Each essay stands complete in itself'), which is perhaps unfortunate for a subject which the editors imply suffers from a low level of recognition (p. v). They seem to call for the archaeology of later medieval Greece to be pursued as an integrated archaeology of Byzantine, Frankish, and Venetian material. In fact they leave the recognition-problem unresolved though, as they are not really clear about the incorporation of Byzantine archaeology, and do not offer any explanation for a starting point around 1100 AD. (Is it that western merchants' wares constitute a significant proportion of the archaeological finds of the 12th century? Or that western products and techniques were influencing Byzantine production? The answer must be no. Or is it that western architecture and art were influencing Byzantium? The influences were still flowing in the opposite direction.). Their starting point is undermined anyway by the fact that four contributors (including one of the editors) treat the period before 1100 at considerable length! A terminus at 'about 1500' meanwhile prompts awkward questions concerning where the archaeology of 16th-c., or later, Venetian and Genoese *Romania*, or Ottoman Greece, belongs (treated by three of the contributors).

The subject's lack of definition and recognition might have been reduced if there were some kind of introductory essay about issues of methodology and substance which link various of the twelve contributions, in which the origins and development of a 'medieval', as distinct from Byzantine, archaeology of Greece were at least evoked. If parts of such an essay were difficult to write in the 1970s and 1980s — when the research published here was obviously carried out — it would have been considerably easier by 1994 when the editors composed their one-page preface. The editors, Peter Lock and Guy Sanders, are after all at the forefront of a Greek medieval archaeology, the former with his studies and re-interpretations of the origins of 'Frankish' or 'Venetian' towers in the Greek countryside; the latter with his pioneering articles about Frankish pottery from medieval Greece. The common issues of methodology and substance, the general problems faced by practitioners of a new archaeology of medieval Greece, could of course have been discussed in individual papers. One thinks primarily of the identification and dating of 'medieval' sherds collected by forms of survey; the techniques of, and presentation of, 'extensive' survey (the archaeological approach taken by most contributors); the integration of forms of survey with excavation-strategies (a question 'begged' but not addressed by ten of the twelve contributions);

and the dating of unexcavated upstanding remains, which are a major feature of the 'Franco-Venetian' archaeological heritage of Greece, and of projects presented in this volume. This problem at least is confronted in Peter Burridge's contribution, 'The castle of Vardounia and defence in the southern Taygetos', while the now familiar method and logic of intensive survey is briefly discussed by John Bintliff in 'The Frankish countryside in central Greece: the evidence from archaeological field survey'. The lack of a general framework does not of course detract from the interest of the book. The reader just has to work harder, at least to evaluate the survey-based papers.

Four of the surveys (by Lock, Lock and Hodgetts, Gregory, and Burridge) attempt to identify and date fortifications in the Franco-Venetian parts of central and southern Greece. The historical and topographical information supplied is usually exemplary, but the analyses of monuments and associated surficial finds are not always so impressive. Burridge and (when writing about Euboea) Lock seek to distinguish between respectively the Byzantine and the Frankish, and the Venetian (public construction) and Frankish (private construction). Lock has independently developed useful criteria in the design, construction, size, and siting, of 'Frankish' towers, for distinguishing between public and private fortifications (criteria which in fact are also being applied to the study of other periods, the Early Byzantine for instance). But this is a 'model' which deserves to be demonstrated with some instructive plans, elevations and maps. Burridge and Gregory are reduced to guessing the chronology of their fortifications. Burridge's castle of Vardounia has 'a Frankish or Byzantine origin' (p. 22), while one suspects strongly that Gregory's supposedly 'Frankish' castle of Tsalka in the southeastern Corinthia is a Byzantine Dark-Age *refugium* (drystone walling, one or two solid bastions: see Fig. 3, p. 68), rehabilitated in the later Middle Ages. The nature of the fieldwork (not Gregory's though) tends to indicate under-resourced projects, so the authors are to be congratulated for at least demonstrating the potential of their material, even if there are no references to, and little likelihood of, fuller publications to come.

Another broad subject-area which four contributors tackle (Bintliff, Gregory again, Rosser, and Sanders) is that of regional studies on the basis of the distribution and size of settlements in their diachronic evolution. Their four projects in, respectively, Boeotia, the Corinthia, the Gulf of Corinth, and on Melos, quite naturally do not attempt to interpret the later medieval (Lock's and Sanders' 'medieval') data in isolation. In fact two of these projects (that of Bintliff *et al.* in Boeotia; Gregory's in the Corinthia) were formulated as multi-period surveys. The exemplary Boeotian Survey is well known by virtue of its ever lengthening list of preliminary reports. What is new in Bintliff's paper is some reference, tantalisingly brief, to a fourth (and final?) survey of an ancient urban site (Hyettos) and its apparent successor(s), and, linked with that, remarks about the post-Roman but pre-Frankish ceramic evidence, and about three other broad groupings of sherds, Byzantino-Frankish, Frankish, and Franco-Ottoman (pp. 3-5).

Gregory, besides discussing the fortification of Tsalka, which in his view is Frankish (see above), discusses, on the basis of sherds, or their absence, the chronology of rural sites in the valley below it.

Rosser's paper essentially responds to Gregory's criticism (published elsewhere) of Sinclair Hood's much-quoted thesis that many small and, one could say, economically marginal, coastal islands became 'isles of refuge' during the 'Dark-Age' invasions. The evidence (from excavation and survey) of Gregory's case study was that they acquired their first complex settlements during the Late Antique era, *i.e.*, that these small islands illustrate the prosperity of Greece before the 'Dark Ages'. Gregory suggests that they were abandoned thereafter. Rosser collects the literary references to islands in the Gulf of Corinth functioning as refuges in the 10th, 11th, and 13th centuries. The implicit question, unstated, is: why then could such coastal islands not have been refuges in the 7th and 8th centuries? Rosser however does not question Sinclair Hood's or Gregory's dating of the pottery with its 'Dark-Age' hiatus.

The main focus of Sanders' contribution is upon the origins and development of Melos' two principal medieval settlements. This is based upon excellent topographical detective work and disentanglement of references to the two places rather than upon intensive survey. Given that he picks up the thread of Melian history and archaeology in Late Antiquity, and makes ample use of an unpublished survey of the whole island, Sanders is however curiously silent about the relationship between this research and the pioneering Melos Survey of the 1970s, published as *An island polity. The archaeology of exploitation in Melos* in 1982. Readers of that work will detect an archaeological complementarity which, one might say, speaks for itself, but in a project which re-surveys the turf chosen for the first of the methodologically explicit Greek intensive surveys this silence is unjustifiable. It is not as though the settlements in question are not discussed at some length in *An island polity* moreover. The same absence of intellectual engagement with the older work affects the interesting observations on the economy and demography of Melos.

All four of these contributions about surveys reflect the need to understand regional developments before 1100, particularly during the Middle Byzantine period, but in the 1980s (or earlier in the case of some work on 'Isles of Refuge') a lack of recognition of the domestic plain and coarse wares of the 7th to 10th centuries inclusive was still leading investigators to conclude, perhaps not so surprisingly, that individual settlements and whole areas were then depopulated. As almost every excavation and survey at least provisionally reached this conclusion (and all four of these regional projects do so), the *reductio ad absurdum* of an empty Byzantine empire was fast being approached. Today though, as a result of several excavations and surveys, including the recent work of some of the authors of these reports, and of the re-examination of older projects (Kherson for instance), this deserted (or aceramic!) phase, whether deemed to have started in the 7th c., or (on Melos) in the 9th c., is surely about to be redefined. The *opinio communis* of massive 'Dark-Age' depopulation furthermore could prompt unsatisfactory assumptions about sites which have either not been intensively surveyed or not been appropriately excavated. Sanders for example implies that the ancient *city* of Melos must have been abandoned by the 7th c., and assumes that neither of the island's two known medieval fortified settlements (one of which inherited the name *Melos*) has a Middle Byzantine phase (600-1200 AD).

Several of these very interesting papers therefore paradoxically draw our attention to the problems of Middle Byzantine ceramic typology and chronology, problems whose solution would in fact greatly assist the understanding of the archaeology of later medieval (Lock's and Sanders' 'medieval') Greece. Only one contributor, Theodora Stilwell McKay ('A group of Renaissance pottery from Heraklion, Crete: notes and questions') tackles the ceramics problems, bringing to bear upon it her knowledge of Late Medieval and Post-Medieval western Mediterranean pottery.

Besides preliminary studies of fortifications, settlements, and pottery, this work contains three reports on religious monuments. Eric Ivison's 'Latin tomb monuments in the Levant 1204-ca. 1450' goes to the heart of the editors' laconically expressed agenda: the nature of Byzantino-Frankish social and cultural interaction and 'the meaning of the term "Frankish" in terms of material culture . . .' (p. v). Mary Lee Coulson's contribution, 'The Dominican church of Saint Sophia at Andravida' and Nancy Cooper's 'The Frankish church of Hagia Sophia at Andravida' deal with the same church in different ways. There is a complementarity in the sense that Coulson provides an excellent framework for the interpretation of Cooper's contribution, which reads like a site-notebook of the recording process, the intellectual relationship of which to several previous studies, let alone to Coulson's, is never explained.

A work so long in gestation and one concerning Greece should not be so liberally sprinkled with lapses in the transliteration or construction of Greek proper names (including authors' names) and words as this one is (not to mention other lapses which are a feature of the new era of 'do-it-yourself' editing by overstretched academics). But more importantly a work such as this, mostly consisting of preliminary reports, needs to be published quickly to avoid becoming 'old news'. Even criticisms of Venetian 'monetarism' and 'privatisation' in Lock's 'The towers of Euboea: Lombard or Venetian, agrarian or strategic', have the flavour of the 1980s about them. It offers a snapshot illustrating the condition of the archaeology of Franco-Venetian Greece ten or more years ago, as scholars quite rightly looked beyond the 'great' monuments studied by Bon, Carpenter, Orlandos, and Andrews, towards an archaeology of estates, small towns, and villages, but also to the study of the interaction of westerners and Orthodox Greeks. It is nonetheless important that the subject's profile has thus been raised, and a new phase in its development revealed.

Archibald Dunn

Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI. (780-802), mit einem Kapitel über Leon IV. (775-780)* von Ilse Rochow. *Berliner Byzantinistische Studien* 2, Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1996. Pp. xxvi, 435.

The subject of this monograph is not Byzantium under Eirene and her son but rather the personalities of the empress and her son and their (political and private) activities. This obvious peculiarity is due to the fact that the work emerged as a by-product of the on-going project on the Prosopography of the middle Byzantine period. This also explains to some degree the complicated division of the ten chapters of the book into three parts.

After a comprehensive presentation of Leo IV's life and his political initiatives written by Rochow in the first part, Lilie brings together in the second part in a more or less synthetical way information and many hypotheses about Eirene's family and her church policy, then he moves to present the upheavals and usurpations of the time, after which follows a chapter on 'internal policy' that is actually a mere description of the empress's dealings with the leading figures in the court and army. The next two, larger chapters deal with the foreign policy towards the East, the North and the West and the personal relationship of Eirene and Constantine. The second part finishes with an unnecessary chapter in which the previous chapters are summarised again. The third part, of two chapters, is devoted to an analytical presentation of the questions concerning the historical sources of the period.

The conclusion of this analysis is as clear as it is already known to every student of Byzantine history: the main source for this period, the Chronicle of Theophanes, is actually the only useful source since all other historical sources, George Monachus, Symeon Logothetes, Kedrenos and Zonaras, depend exclusively on Theophanes.

Due to the circumstances of the evidence, Lilie's book offers necessarily little more than another commentary of Theophanes and is therefore hardly original. Recent narratives of the same period (Speck, Treadgold) and Ilse Rochow's extensive commentary (*Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes. Quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715-813*, 1991 — Cyril Mango and Roger Scott's translation and commentary of Theophanes's Chronicle was expected but appeared only in 1997) had already explored exhaustively the possible combinations of the evidence to the effect that everything that can be said at the present state of the art beyond the established picture is completely hypothetical. Thus I can understand the furious note of Peter Schreiner in the last issue of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (vol. 90, 1 [1997] 235) who regarded Lilie's monograph as superfluous. A completely different thing is, however, his decision as editor of the periodical to consider the book unworthy to be properly reviewed.

Some of the author's hypotheses do include worthy interpretations of the evidence and in many other cases the reader is grateful to Lilie for helping him out of Paul Speck's labyrinth of proposals and the never ending surgery of the corpus of the sources. Thus noteworthy is his explanation of the scant evidence indicating that perhaps Constantine VI survived his blindness for several years well into the reign of Michael I (p. 276 sq.). Another useful point is his careful support of an older suggestion by Löwe and Beumann not to disregard the

information preserved in a Cologne notice that the Byzantine embassy of 798 to Charlemagne offered him the (Western) Empire (*traderent ei imperium*) (p. 206). If real, this offer would explain among other things the mild way in which Constantinople reacted to the coronation: by simply dispatching an embassy to the new Emperor! In any case, the *nomen imperatoris* for Charlemagne was in the air for some time before Christmas 800.

Lilie's critical commentary on Theophanes goes occasionally too far in order to leave room for further hypothetical interpretations. One such case is the passage of Theophanes (p. 457 sq.) in which the chronicler describes the resignation of Patriarch Paul and the ordination of Tarasius. From this passage Lilie reconstructs a four-month vacancy which he then tries to attribute to difficulties he suspects Eirene must have had in finding the appropriate candidate for the throne (p. 55). However Paul's resignation, his entrance in the monastery of Phloros and Eirene's several attempts to persuade him to change his mind, his death — which, as indicated by the later sources, did not take place immediately — and finally the negotiations with Tarasius registered by Theophanes (p. 458–460) may well have taken four months.

Similarly unconvincing is his interpretation of the sources concerning the breaking of Constantine's engagement with Rotrud (p. 199 sq.). Theophanes allows for Eirene's initiative while Einhard attributes it to Charlemagne. The court chronicler Einhard is more likely to present here an official and consequently biased explanation than Theophanes, whose loyalty to Eirene in the time he wrote had gone through considerable reflection and therefore may very well have been less tied. Parenthetically, συναλλαγή is probably used by Theophanes (p. 463,22) in the meaning of γαμικὸν συναλλάγιον (marriage agreement) and not as just another term for treaty as understood by Lilie (p. 200, note 159 (in seeming accordance to Anastasius Bibliothecarius [*contractus*] and Mango-Scott: 'contract')).

Lilie is a very productive and quick author. To this quickness we may attribute several unpolished sentences and expressions and some mistakes in Greek spelling. Thus e.g. he should have avoided describing Tarasius' ordination as a coronation (Krönung in pp. 51, 55 (note 19), 340). See also 'ein Xenon' as neutral, and 'eine (sic) Xenodocheion' (both on p. 276), or δεσπότην (sic) twice on p. 240.

Evangelos Chrysos

Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The emergence of Rus 750-1200*. Longman History of Russia, London-New York: Longman, 1996. Pp. xxii, 450, maps.

This useful study is solidly based on a vast amount of disparate material and makes much good use of archaeological evidence, something often neglected. It starts with the salutary warning that it 'is and is not an account of a thing called Russia' (xvii). It is about 'a land ruled by people known as the Rus'. Of almost 300 hundred occurrences of the term *Rus* and its derivatives in the Primary Chronicle, in fact, most are at best ambiguous, and may refer to either people or area; in part, this difficulty arises because Russian has no article: the unqualified term does not distinguish 'the Rus' from 'Rus'. *Rus*, in this work refers to Scandinavians, probably from central Sweden and the Åland Islands, settled in the Rus area, but it is accepted that its meaning may have varied. Texts listing both Rus and Varangians are seen as distinguishing those assumed to have settled in the area from newcomers from Scandinavia.

In the 450 years dealt with, no Russian nation or state in the modern sense existed. According to the chronicles, the society developed from tribes to principalities. The book focuses on the leaders of the latter in some detail; it is in three parts: the first is the longest and deals with the period roughly from 750 to 1054; the third, the shortest, covers 1130-1200. The outline put forward is that around 800 the Rus were barely visible; they were 'small bands of [Scandinavian] traders trekking along the rivers through the dense and sparsely populated northern forests between the Baltic and the Middle Volga, lured by the silver of the east'. Around 1000 they were 'firmly established in thriving fortified cities, fattened with trade and tribute', but settled on the Middle Dnepr and speaking a Slav language 'since significant numbers of the Scandinavian Rus had become assimilated to the Slavs' and promoting a new culture by accepting Orthodox Christianity (xvii). Around 1200 the lands of the Rus stretched from the Carpathians almost to the Urals; local centres had proliferated in diverse territories, giving coherence, if not cohesion, based on 'a single dominant dynasty, a single dominant language and a single dominant faith' (xviii).

The authors frankly warn readers that the result of their approach 'is elitist, in that we devote little space to what most of the people through most of the lands were doing most of the time' (xx). Is it right to focus on this elite? It is useful to stress the initial Scandinavian element, though other influences were also formative for the Russia that was to come and this volume is in a series devoted to the history of that Slav country and Slav dominated empire.

The scheme put forward is convincing in its own terms, but the evidence adduced, both texts and artefacts, may sometimes be interpreted in other ways. The small bands of ruthless warriors are presented as peaceful traders bartering beads or cheap bronze ornaments for furs that could then be traded for silver. The low population densities of the local peoples, Finno-Ugrians and Balts, prevented using force against them. It seems at least possible, however, that the ruthless warriors, lured by eastern silver, latched on to an already existing network of trade. Coin hoards are clearly of use in giving datable material, but were likely to be deposited in uncertain and risky situations, not in normal peaceful times, so an increase in their numbers may indicate not development of trade, but a period of increased risk.

The elitist approach means that the resources of the area, its economy and the technology underlying it are left somewhat vague; much that is needed to explain the processes involved is poorly dealt with. At 8th or 9th century Gorodishche, near later Novgorod, there were finds of iron 'plough-blades . . . of the sort most appropriate for working areas of ground newly cleared from the forest' (35). The original of the passage in question refers to 'two iron tips of tillage implements'; it adds that such tips 'were used on single-pronged tillage implements with high centre of gravity', i.e. an ard. The view that the Varangians most probably enjoyed technical advantages in agricultural implements seems to have no basis. No finds of Scandinavian plough parts are known and the Russian *sokha* (a bifurcated ard) has Finnish analogues. Throughout this period, the basis of cultivation remained slash and burn in the forest zone, a system which used ards, not ploughs which did require forest clearance (the authors were misled on this point by Nosov). This technique enabled the Slavs and other peoples to cultivate the forest; Slav colonisation, based on it, had reached at least as far as Novgorod around 1000 A.D. This creeping colonisation long continued and is one of the distinguishing features of the history of European Russia into modern times. (The technique was unsuitable for cultivating virgin steppe and so also contributed to preventing Slav expansion onto the steppe for many centuries).

Around 1000 A.D. towns had certainly grown in size and complexity, but the picture of thriving cities is, of course, relative; such towns were very few in a vast area; the vast majority of people lived in the hinterland of forest. Rus, as a land, might more appropriately be likened to some underdeveloped countries today, and most of it was like the backward areas of those countries.

Yaroslav the Wise (d. 1054) was the last great Varangian patron; after 1036 there are no references in the Primary Chronicle to recruitment of Scandinavians. In the same period and later other princes were making alliances and marriages with the steppe Pechenegs. Rus princes, like Russian tsars, politically faced both east and west and sometimes had to choose between them. Concern with Byzantium was less vital and mainly limited to silks and the church, both concerns of the elite.

The authors challenge the view that the 11th century unity broke down to a 12th century plurality. They conclude that 'regional loyalties incorporated, rather than displaced, the shared acceptance of a common dynasty, language and faith' (371).

The dynasty is pictured as a firm. 'The first [clear principle of Yaroslav's Testament] is that the lands of the Rus were a family firm . . .' (246). 'One is struck by a lack of a geographical focus, of a permanent prestigious head office' in relation to meetings of princes to resolve major issues (275). Was it, in fact, a single entity in the 12th century?

The dynasty had been ethnically modified by marriages with Slavs and Turkic peoples and by their cultural influence. Patrimonies emerged as economic and political bases for particular families. There was still no common name for the area under its rule in the 12th century; 'Rus' usually referred only to the Kiev area which was involved with both Poles to the west and Polovtsy to the east, while the emerging north-east region was involved with Novgorod and, more distantly, both the Baltic and the Bolgars.

The language used was Slav with some loans, such as the titles of rulers: *kagan*, and *tsar*, as well as *knyaz* (prince). This was perhaps the most stable unifying element.

In religion, Yaroslav's faith 'was a social gloss for the urban elite in a largely pagan land' (244). Vsevolod Big Nest in 1194-7 built the church of St. Dmitrii in Vladimir on the Klyazma. Its façade not only depicts King David, but Alexander the Great and numerous fantastic images, and included gryphons, peacocks and the Tree of Life; these survived in peasant imagery into this century. Considerable traces of pre-Christian religion can be found through this period and long after even at the level of the rulers. There is little consideration here of the many ways in which Orthodoxy gave earlier sacred sites, beliefs and rituals a Christian guise, and of the impact of the largely Christian — but Nestorian — nomads on the southern frontier. It seems an overstatement to claim that conversion was close to becoming complete by 1200.

Finally, the view that 'spiritual and material culture radiated out from Kiev' (275) is true with regard to Orthodox Christianity, at first emanating from the prince, then from the metropolitan and finally, around 1100, it had taken root among monks and the urban elite. Whether material culture, other than church architecture, emanated from Kiev is much more doubtful. The Finno-Ugrians and Turkic peoples also contributed significant elements to the material culture of the East Slavs. By 1200 the Scandinavian, Byzantine and Slav strands had fused; the Rus, in the sense used in this work, had emerged, but they had evidently now disappeared; *Rus* as an ethnic or sometimes a geographic term remained.

R.E.F. Smith

REVIEWS

Tjeerd van Andel & Curtis Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis. A rural Greek past*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1987 (reimpression, n.d.). Pp. xiv, 226.

In this work two of the principal investigators of an innovative study of the southern Argolid (Peloponnese) sketched the synthesis that was emerging from many of the project's numerous lines of enquiry, archaeological, environmental, ethnographic, and historical. The work should be of interest to anyone concerned about the thousand-year history of the Byzantine provinces, the mostly poorly documented backwoods of the Byzantine world. The fact that the book is ten years old (but recently re-issued in paperback) does not yet detract from its relevance, either substantive or methodological. It is not out of date because some of the work to which it alludes is still in press; because similarly conceived projects conducted at the same time (in the 1970s to 1980s) in Greece, for instance on Methana, in Laconia, in Aetolia, and on Kea,¹ are still only partly published; and because there is a consensus (now, but not at the outset) that the aims and methods of the southern Argolid survey, with its very stimulating juxtapositions of archaeological, topographical, environmental and ethnographic data, are valid, criticism of presentation or conclusion in the final volumes that have so far appeared notwithstanding.²

We have long been accustomed to popularising accounts of major excavations (in Palestine/Israel, Greece, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and North Africa). But a popularising account of an intensive interdisciplinary survey was and remains a novelty. The authors move deftly however between the 'big picture', the hard survey data (making usually good use of tabulation), and the interpretative problems, keeping their (let's face it) academic readership on side without doing anything to lose a potential wider readership. Indeed their lightness of touch makes an intensive interdisciplinary survey of Mediterranean lands seem such a logical and obvious step that for a moment one wonders why this step was only taken in the 1970s to 1980s. And then one recalls another book published in 1987, Anthony Snodgrass's *An archaeology of Greece, the present state and future scope of a discipline*, in which some of the preoccupations and methodologies of conventional archaeologists and historians of Mediterranean Antiquity are taken to task, and the value of the intensive interdisciplinary survey is upheld. There were still academic battles to be fought to prove the interest and utility of these kinds of project. The first finished product of the new movement, Renfrew and Wagstaff's *An island polity: the archaeology of exploitation in Melos* (Cambridge UP 1982), for all its interest, had aroused much scepticism and criticism. But even the provisional conclusions were so interesting that the authors of *Beyond the Acropolis* clearly felt no need to join in the debate about the merits or demerits of 'old' and 'new' archaeology or even about particular surveying strategies.

1. I do not here refer to projects in Greece which have only published preliminary reports, such as the surveys of Sphakia, Grevena Prefecture, the Strymon Delta, the Langadas Basin, the Skourta Plain, Professor Timothy Gregory's Greek projects, and, the biggest of them all, the Boeotian survey. The Palaipaphos survey (Cyprus) is meanwhile fully published.

2. M. Jameson, C. Runnels, T. van Andel, *A Greek countryside: the southern Argolid from prehistory to the present day* (Stanford 1994); C. Runnels, D. Pullen, S. Langdon, eds., *Artifact and assemblage: the finds from a regional survey of the southern Argolid*, vol. 1 (Stanford 1995).

There is none of the strident language or technical discussion associated with some promoters of these kinds of project. The authors have therefore made it very easy for students of Byzantine or Frankish history who have no relevant archaeological experience to inform themselves of the value of interdisciplinary surveys.

To illustrate this: the southern Argolid survey, like all other East Mediterranean surveys, offers a radical alternative to the historians' vision of 'Late Roman decline', and documents a Late Roman (*i.e.* Early Byzantine), 4th-to-6th-century agricultural and demographic revival; it can, better than some other survey-projects, show something of what this meant in terms of successful soil-management and use of marginal lands; and, because of the survey's close proximity to excavations, it can relate its model of growth in the countryside, if only tentatively, to the fate of towns and 'external economic links' (under which one should put trade, private redistribution, and taxation) (pp. 113-17). But the relationship is far from simple: the survey has established (p. 162, Table 2, and p. 163) a major modification of the physical organisation of communities in this period — the disappearance of all but one town, Ermioni (which, it is worth adding, appears as a Peloponnesian *polis* in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles of ca. 530 AD), the rise of 'intermediate settlements', including *villae rusticae* at which production for export was taking place, as well as an overall rise in the number of sites identifiable as 'settlements' (Table 1, p. 160). In the evaluation of some earlier cultural eras the authors, a geomorphologist and a prehistorian, can exploit their knowledge of the wider Greek world. But without any such apparatus the Early Byzantine evidence is still valuable. The Byzantinist can relate it now to a mass of comparative material. Of the three divisions of the Byzantine era which the authors discern ('Late Roman', 'Dark Age', and 'Middle Byzantine to Frankish') — it is their treatment of the first which is the most well founded and useful at the moment. The authors' treatment of the 'Dark Age' (7th-to-9th-centuries), and of the 10th to 15th centuries are just as stimulating but prompt some questions.

Whereas for preceding cultural eras, including the Early Byzantine, the authors could evoke new and robust archaeological models which challenge many a received opinion, in effect outlining a new history (now being filled in, notably by the Romanist Susan Alcock), come the end of Antiquity and the challenge fades somewhat. The apparent absence of 7th- to 9th-century material is thought by the authors (pp. 121-23) to corroborate one of the brief but very problematic literary references to the condition of the Peloponnese between the late 6th and late 8th centuries. The one that they quote (which actually exists in several versions) states that no Byzantine official set foot in the Peloponnese between 587 and 805 AD. Another refers to the plague of 746/7 and states that the Peloponnese was 'completely slavified'. Historians do not take these references at face-value any longer. The first is generally recognised as a product of a dispute over primacy in the ninth century between the former ecclesiastical capital of the Peloponnese, Corinth, and its Middle Byzantine rival Patras. The second is probably related (Byzantine writers were quoting them from a now lost text). The key word is variously translated as 'slavified' or 'enslaved', which, as the major historian of the Early and Middle Byzantine Peloponnese Antoine Bon (not

cited by our authors) pointed out, in the political sense meant the same thing: the establishment of the *Sklaviniai*. One of *Beyond the Acropolis*'s general theses is that external links always had a huge impact on the demography and economy of the southern Argolid. Applied to the Byzantine 'Dark Ages' this therefore becomes [my words]: withdrawal of administration (on the basis of the dubious literary reference to the Peloponnese) — economic collapse — departure of population. But it is quite clear that there was no such withdrawal in the late 6th century. The coinage and sigillography of Corinth and Acrocorinth taken together demonstrate continuity throughout the late 6th to 9th centuries. The work of Vasso Pennas demonstrates a Byzantine official presence on the islands off the coast of the Argolid in the 8th century. The new excavations of Argos, Sparta, and Messene do not suggest mere 'slavicisation' and no longer suggest the discontinuity which older excavations, including those in the southern Argolid, 'recorded'. Much of this was not clear ten years ago, which illustrates the risks of reprinting an unrevised text after a decade. But what should have been clear within a collective archaeological project such as the Stanford University's Southern Argolid Project was the prevailing lack of knowledge about the pottery of the 7th to 9th centuries. Surveyors know that unless the local historical controls are excellent they rely for a framework upon excavation-reports, which for the said period were still not useful ten years ago.

This means that one is wary of the statement (p. 122) that after the sixth-century sherds the next to occur are 'of the kind used during the tenth and eleventh centuries'. Moving further into the later period the authors discern (pp. 124-25) a preference for secure upland locations, including some previously under-exploited areas. In this instance however they admit (p. 127) that the study of coarsewares of late to post-medieval Greece 'is in its infancy'. So again, the picture may change by the time that the final report on the later pottery appears.

The question of the history of population and land-use in the post-medieval period (Ottoman and Venetian) is not well served by a vague reference to western travellers' perceptions of decline (pp. 169-70), perceptions which we know were highly coloured by their preconceptions about the glories of ancient Greece. The Ottoman archives suggest that, overall, population-levels reached a peak in the seventeenth century, when the first generation of travellers to be steeped in the Classics were starting to record their perceptions of Greece. The 'happy ignorance' (p. 5) which the authors allegedly profess about post-medieval land-use, population, and settlement-patterns (we need not take their light-heartedness too seriously) is ceasing to be an option as the Ottoman and Venetian records become better known. Anyway this 'happy ignorance' is slightly unfair to the several ethnographic projects effected in the Argolis during the lifetime of, and in conjunction with, the surveys, which have produced many useful preliminary reports. The authors' problems in dealing with the later periods are reflected in a way that may not be intended in their graph of the southern Argolid's population-trajectory (Fig. 14, p. 171). Despite acknowledging that on-site population-density can vary between cultural eras, and that not all small sites are necessarily inhabited continuously, the Early Byzantine peak in site-numbers is found *not* to echo demographically the peak in Classical site-numbers. This looks odd when site-numbers are compared

by function (Table 1, p. 160) — *cf.* the 'Late Roman' and the *combined* Geometric-Archaic-Classical totals. The Byzantine Dark Age problem then becomes a demographic chasm. And the medieval to post-medieval trajectory (ever upwards!) is too crude to reflect either a pre-Black Death peak and subsequent trough (fairly well documented in Greece) or the 16th-to-17th-century peak, the falloff from which the western travellers probably witnessed (but which they presumably could not see in its actual perspective).

From a Byzantinist's or medievalist's perspective these are not small points. They seem small in the context of the authors' aims and achievements though: the exposition of the value of the intensive interdisciplinary survey through an evocation of the project's models of archaeological and environmental change and the diachronic relationship between these — a history of what the French call 'l'occupation du sol' — and an explanation of change in this sphere (effectively at the level of the forces of production), without losing sight of the importance of these models for understanding the conventional archaeology of 'high status' sites (cities, villas, temples etc.). Moreover the work is stimulating in a sustained way that preliminary reports and segmented final reports can never hope to be. And the authors recognise the risk of their approach, acknowledging that even major revisions of their bold sketch may be made during the project's publication (p. 181). But any such revisions are unlikely to affect one of the unifying theses, well supported throughout the book, and almost a paradox in a project with such a strong environmental strand, namely that the four major series of erosions identified and dated by the project within the last 4500 to 5000 years (one of them 'Middle Byzantine') were brought about by neglect or abuse of agricultural terracing systems, or in the Byzantine case by mismanaged *défrichements*, not by the archaeologists' and historians' *deus ex machina*, climatic change. The ancient and medieval provincial farmer thus takes centre-stage, not of course, given the lack of texts available, in his social relations, but as creator, manager, and sometimes unwitting destroyer of Mediterranean agricultural systems. Demonstrating that his successes and failures, and the approximate numbers involved (though this is much trickier), can be plotted in time and space constitutes a major advance for Byzantine and (when the pottery is better understood) post-Byzantine Greek regional studies.

Archibald Dunn,
Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern Greek Studies,
The University of Birmingham

Wim F. Bakker, Arnold F. van Gemert (edd.), *Ἡ Θυσία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις*. Heraklion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 1996. Pp. xlv, 408.

The Cretan drama *The Sacrifice of Abraham* stands out as one of the most accomplished works of early modern Greek literature. It is the only example of religious drama among the surviving plays of the Cretan Renaissance. Although it has been known since 1928, when John Mavrogordato published his pioneering research, that the Cretan play derives its basic plot and structure from Luigi Grotto's *Lo Isach* (published 1586), fully detailed studies of the relationship between the two works did not appear until the 1970s. Wim Bakker's seminal studies (see, for example, his monograph *The Sacrifice of Abraham. The Cretan biblical drama Ἡ Θυσία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ and western European and Greek tradition*. Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1978), over a period of more than two decades, have now culminated in a new critical edition of the text, in collaboration with his Amsterdam colleague (and successor in the Chair) Arnold van Gemert.

Until now we have had to rely on the editions of Megas (1943 and, in a greatly improved version, 1954) or that undertaken by Eleni Tsantsanoglou for Ermis Editions (1971), which, despite its usefulness, was not — and did not claim to be — a new critical edition. It is this last edition that has received the widest circulation; it has certainly contributed to the play's lasting popularity and served as the text for many performances. The new edition under review is informed by three crucial factors: (1) the researches of Bakker on the play's sources, textual tradition, structure, and literary qualities; (2) the computerised concordance and lexicographical and rhyme tables (based on the Tsantsanoglou text) published by Dia Philippides in 1986; and (3) the many editions of other Cretan literary works that have appeared since 1980, greatly extending our knowledge of the language and style of the Cretan poets.

It will be helpful at this point to indicate the structure of the volume. After the bibliography (pp. xvii-xxxvi) and eight pages of illustrations, the Introduction is divided into: I. The Venetian editions (3-14); II. The manuscript of the Biblioteca Marciana (15-28); III. Evaluation of the witnesses of the tradition (29-31); IV. Synopsis of the play (33-4); V. *The Sacrifice of Abraham*. The model and sources (35-57); VI. Grammatological character (59-75); VII. Language (77-96); VIII. Metre and rhyme (97-109); IX. The dating of the play and the question of the identity of the poet (111-27); X. The reception of *The Sacrifice of Abraham* (129-36); XI. Methodological questions (137-54). The text of the play occupies pp. 155-207, and is followed by a commentary (209-342), an appendix giving a transcription of the Marcian manuscript, preserving the Latin script in which it was written (343-79), and, finally, a glossary of words which present semantic or morphological interest (381-408). In keeping with other editions from Crete University Press, the volume is beautifully printed, easy on the eye, and convenient to use.

As already noted, preparatory work for this edition has extended over more than twenty years and in fact a good deal of it has already appeared in print. At various points in the introduction we are therefore referred to published studies for detailed aspects of a particular topic. In other words, not all the data adduced

to support a particular conclusion is actually presented here; thus, for example, the reader may find it difficult to follow the discussion concerning lines found only in the Marcian manuscript but having a close resemblance to *Lo Isach* (p. 24-5); the editors' conclusion is *not* (as Zoras believed) that the manuscript preserves some original lines which the printed editions lack, but that a later adaptor had access to the text of *Lo Isach* (and knew that it lay behind the Cretan play), and added some new material drawn from it. In other sections material from previous studies by Bakker is reproduced or summarised. The difficult choice between these alternative strategies — repetition or simple reference to published work — does not always serve the reader's needs.

This consideration apart, the introduction is admirably thorough and comprehensive. It proceeds in a logical way from the 'given' — the extant witnesses — to the first prerequisite for the edition — an evaluation of their merits and defects, which (after a synopsis of the text) leads on to a consideration of the sources, the literary character of the work, its language and verse form, and finally its dating, authorship and later reception. This brings us to the final chapter of the introduction, where the principles of the edition are fully discussed. The logic of this order cannot be faulted. And yet the first two chapters, concerned with the early editions and manuscript, make for a hard beginning for the reader who is not already well informed about the transmission of the text. The first edition of *The Sacrifice* was published in 1696; no copy of it has survived, but it is known indirectly through the Turkish translation, made in 1783 and published in Constantinople in 1800. Thus the Turkish translation provides a test of the reliability of the second edition of 1713. The editors return to this subject in Chapter III, and conclude that the 1713 edition is not sufficiently reliable on its own to serve as the sole basis of a critical edition. The Marcian manuscript on the other hand, though earlier, represents a rather extensive revision of the text and has to be used with great caution. Its use is made more complicated by the fact that two copyists were involved, and it is thus necessary to identify the differences in the working methods. The principal task of the editors is to arbitrate between the readings offered by the editions (chiefly that of 1713) and the manuscript, which represent separate branches of the transmission process. A stemma (p. 31) clarifies their relationship.

Since the previous editors faced essentially the same task, it is instructive to examine to what extent the Bakker-van Gemert edition differs from its predecessors. Comparing the first hundred lines of their text with the Tsantsanoglou edition and ignoring purely orthographic variations, I have identified about 42 significant differences. Many of the changes have to do with the different treatment of final vowels before another vowel (the new edition generally prefers synizesis to elision), or with the presence or absence of final -v. These differences may seem slight, but they have a considerable effect on the rhythm and musicality of the text. Other changes are more substantive: for example, the re-ordering of lines 11-14 (following the manuscript in preference to the 1713 edition), and improved readings at lines 32 and (more dubiously) 41. A second sample, of lines 501-600, revealed approximately 44 differences between the new edition and its immediate predecessor. In sum, the changes that the editors have made, based

on meticulous study of the witnesses and a sensitive and systematic analysis of language and metre, have undoubtedly resulted in a vastly improved text.

The commentary discusses the most important textual issues in detail and, usually, with fully convincing arguments to support the solutions adopted. However, where textual matters are not specifically discussed, it is more difficult for the reader to discern the editors' reasons for their preference, since the apparatus criticus below the text has been kept to a minimum. A footnote on p. 148 invites the reader who wishes for fuller information to apply in writing for a copy of the full apparatus criticus. Nevertheless, it would have been helpful if a complete facsimile or transcription of the 1713 edition had been included in the volume (only the title-page and one page of text are reproduced), to accompany the transcription of the manuscript. This would have required the addition of about 30 pages; had it been done, the puzzlement and occasional frustration which the reader experiences in trying to use the apparatus criticus would have been mitigated. For such a major text as *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, which presents so many intractable textual problems, the provision of such an aid to the scholar would have been well worthwhile.

On the positive side, this volume offers much more than just an improved edition of the text. The editors insist throughout on the work's theatricality and this affirmation leads them to formulate numerous helpful comments on theatrical aspects. They also give a very balanced account of the arguments for and against the attribution to Vitsentzos Kornaros. They give weight to the Orthodox spirit which they identify in *The Sacrifice*, something which goes against its attribution to the (officially at least) Catholic Kornaros. On mainly linguistic grounds they date *The Sacrifice* earlier than *Erotokritos* (but they are aware, of course, that differences of genre and subject matter have to be allowed for). And they rightly stress the need for much more work on the language, style and metre of both texts before a fully convincing case can be made for or against a common authorship. Their reluctance to commit themselves may disappoint some readers, but such caution is a welcome antidote to the urge of some scholars to attribute anonymous works to 'big names'.

A brief comment may be made at this point on one detail of editorial practice. The text has a number of examples of personal pronouns extended with -ε, e.g. τόνε, μᾶσε, which the editors accentuate on the first syllable. Particularly in the case of enclitic pronouns following the verb, this 'convention' is ill-judged and misleading. For example, at line 589 κράξε τόνε appears to have two stresses, which fall on the first and third syllables of the line. In reality the pronoun is unstressed, as is the case in line 216, where the editors correctly write ᾶ' τηνε. The practice of Stylianos Alexiou in his edition of *Erotokritos* is to be preferred, e.g. A 1945 εἶδε τηνε, E 23 ἐφίλειε τονε. The antepenultimate rule does not apply here.

It is not possible here, for reasons of space, to do justice to all the merits of this book. The chapter on the model and sources of *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, to take one example, is excellent in every way: it offers, in a succinct and accessible form, background information on religious drama, detailed analyses of plot and characterisation as compared with Grotto's play, and information

about possible secondary sources of the Cretan work. This volume, then, can be warmly welcomed as the new standard edition of the play and an authoritative guide to the major philological and literary issues on which the reader will seek elucidation. It will serve us well into the next millennium. But another type of edition is also needed: it should be based on the Bakker-van Gemert text, but with a briefer and more accessible introduction, without all the scholarly detail of this edition, so as to enable it to be used with profit by a much broader range of readers: I mean what is usually referred to in Greece as a *χρηστική έκδοση*.

The Cretan *Sacrifice of Abraham* foregrounds an intense dramatic conflict of human emotions and religious obligation. The characters are credible, warm-blooded human beings, unlike the 'biblical dummies' of Grotto's play (to borrow Mavrogordato's phrase). The Cretan work has been in print for 300 years. The new edition of Bakker and van Gemert is not only a work of dedicated and meticulous scholarship; it is also an eloquent affirmation of the dramatic and poetic qualities that account for the play's enduring appeal to a wide spectrum of readers and audiences.

David Holton,
Selwyn College, University of Cambridge

‘Fragments of Cultural History’? Recent work on south-east European cultural history*

MARIA TODOROVA

In his review of Jean-Baptiste Duroselle’s ‘Europe. A History of Its Peoples’,¹ Paschalis Kitromilides lamented that in most general accounts, Europe has been reduced to a history of Visigothic Europe. In these two volumes reflecting his oeuvre until 1994 — one a valuable monograph on a crucial figure of the Balkan Enlightenment, the other an updated collection of essays written in the course of fifteen years and covering some of the central processes of the past two centuries — Kitromilides is rectifying this short-sighted view of Europe. What he shows is a Europe as a common playground of ideas where elements from the core regions are transmitted and transformed to other, adjacent and peripheral territories. His focus is on the Balkans (or Southeastern Europe in his preferred nomenclature). What he also shows admirably is the reverse relationship of core and periphery in scholarship. Even good scholars of the core are parochial in their exclusive confinement to the centre. Conversely, good scholars of the Balkan region are, as a rule, deeply knowledgeable and conversant with ideas and trends outside their immediate geographic sphere of expertise (immensely complex in itself). Paschalis Kitromilides happens to be not simply among the good scholars of and from Southeastern Europe; he is one of the best. At present director of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens and professor of political science at the University of Athens, Kitromilides is considered the leading Greek authority on the history of ideas, particularly

* Discussion of: Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy*. Aldershot, Hants: Variorum, 1994, pp. xviii, 266; *idem*, *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism. Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek Culture in the eighteenth century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1992 pp. xvi, 203.

1. *European History Quarterly*, 24/1 (January 1994) 126.

the history of political thought. He himself describes his work as 'fragments of cultural history'; I would add, cultural history at its best.

At the theoretical level, these two volumes succeed in creating a framework for understanding the general process of transmission of ideas. Kitromilides would be the first to point out that the study of the penetration and influence of the ideas of Enlightenment and nationalism has been a preferred topic, and there is a voluminous historiography, from both East and West, dealing with aspects of this process. More than often, however, these works presume the cultural incompatibility between the Greek East and the Latin West, which turns the process of transmission into a one-sided mechanistic infusion and subsequent distortion. Kitromilides approaches the historical record from the premises of a common European civilisation whose East and West are integral parts, not irreconcilable opposites; the parameters of analysis are, therefore, 'mutual acculturation', 'osmosis', 'intertextuality across hypothetical and historically far from impenetrable cultural frontiers'.²

Focussing on liberalism as the quintessence of the Enlightenment in the political, philosophical and ethical spheres, Kitromilides traces the spread of this body of ideas from its Northwestern European core to Europe's cultural provinces. While using notions as core and periphery, he does not explicitly endorse the centre-periphery model as developed by Wallerstein and others. He specifically sticks to the idea of *cultural* core and periphery, thus positing a more autonomous and decisive sphere of activity for culture. Accordingly, in his view it was the Enlightenment which 'constituted the first case of an attempt at Westernisation and inaugurated a cultural process that has transformed the world in the last two centuries'.³ The Balkan Enlightenment as a case study of the formation of other regional Enlightenments consisted essentially of the reception and adaptation of modern liberal ideas by groups of Balkan intellectuals, with the consequent reconsideration of basic social problems and the creation

2. *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy*, Preface, XIII.

3. 'The Enlightenment East and West', *Enlightenment I* (1983) 55.

of an alternative political future. This alternative vision aimed at transforming Balkan society on the model of Western culture.

Studying the mechanisms of transmission, Kitromilides points out that on the receiving end it was originally clergymen, and then increasingly laymen who absorbed and further developed Enlightenment ideas. Initially, their ideological response took the form of cultural criticism that, according to Kitromilides, developed into the essence of Balkan Enlightenment. While criticism of neo-Aristotelianism comprised the philosophical side of this critique, its primary focus became the language of education, in particular the struggle around elevating the vernacular as the proper channel for the spread of enlightened education. In their political vision, the enlightened Balkan intellectuals of the first period looked to existing forms of government in Western and Central Europe, and tied their hopes to the model of enlightened absolutism (Russian included).

The powerful echoes of the French Revolution, however, introduced a new ideological direction in the younger generation of Enlightenment thinkers and activists, one that focussed on a radical solution of the social problems through political emancipation and national independence. The result was an evolution 'from cultural criticism and the discovery of a secular historical past to the conception of the modern national state as the matrix of the future of the subjugated nations of Southeastern Europe'.⁴ The radicalism of this move consisted not only in the overthrow of Ottoman rule and the rejection of foreign enlightened absolutism. It also meant the destruction of the Orthodox community along ethno-linguistic lines, and the introduction of the institutions of the modern nation state as conceived and practiced, above all, in France. In the view of Kitromilides, it was this radical turn and the preoccupation with national independence that ultimately led to compromises undermining the liberal core of Enlightenment ideas, i.e. the critical spirit and temper of individual liberty; in a word, in the articulation of the author, in Southeastern Europe 'the

4. *Ibid.*, I, 61.

Enlightenment was submerged by the major force it germinated and helped provide with political expression: nationalism'.⁵

One may slightly disagree with Kitromilides's choice of comparison — North America and Scotland — in order to illustrate the constraints to the reception of liberal ideas in the Balkans. This choice introduces *ipso facto* a stark contrast. The transmission of ideas to regions outside the Protestant and English-speaking sphere, e.g. Spain, Italy, Germany, might have provided less obvious contrasts, and thus less dramatic conclusions about the thwarted liberal impulse in the Balkans. After all, by the middle of the nineteenth century liberalism appeared to be abandoned, defeated and compromised not only in Southeastern Europe but almost everywhere on the continent. One may also quarrel with the cursory and categorical treatment of the Ottoman polity as the incompatible opposite of liberalism. Again, there is a respectable historiography treating the problems of the Westernisation or modernisation of the Ottoman Empire from the eighteenth century onward. True, this process was full of hesitancy, struggle and vicissitudes, yet, in the long run, it proved an irreversible process.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Kitromilides offers an excellent general framework and provides the theoretical basis for further concrete studies in a comparative Balkan context. Kitromilides himself has accomplished this in his subsequent and more concrete works, while always retaining a Greek focus. His major achievement in this respect is his in-depth study of Iosipos Moisiodax, the daring eighteenth-century Enlightenment reformer. A Hellenised Vlach, Moisiodax exemplifies perfectly what Kitromilides calls 'the Balkan dimensions of Greek culture', which demonstrate the role of Greek education as an instrument for social change and mobility, and explain the inter-Balkan nature of revolutionary activities from 1790 to 1821. Situating Moisiodax within the paradigm of Enlightenment as social criticism, Kitromilides has painstakingly researched and written a gripping biography, embellished by an exemplary introduction on the

5. *Ibid.*, I, 65. On the embattled position of liberalism in the Balkans, see also 'Modernisation as an Ideological Dilemma in Southeastern Europe: from National Revival to Liberal Reconstruction', and 'The Dialectic of Intolerance: Ideological Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict', *Enlightenment* X (1993), XII (1979).

merits of the biographical genre as a method of social analysis and as a worthy research technique in the era of hegemony of the social sciences, in itself a *tour de force*. Moisiiodax was the first to introduce the controversy between Ancients and Moderns in Greek cultural debate, in which he firmly supported the cause of modernity without, however, denying the value of the ancient achievement. His views and expectations of science followed the criterion of practical utility; utilitarianism guided his reformist educational ideas; his political imagination led him to consider and embrace republicanism, and become its earliest public exponent. In evaluating Moisiiodax's pivotal role in shaping the political views of the younger generation of Greek intellectuals, particularly his most significant follower — Rhigas Velestinlis — Kitromilides concludes that 'Moisiiodax's role as an intermediary between the European republican tradition and Balkan radicalism makes his thought the initial point of dissent in the political thought of the Greek and more generally the Balkan Enlightenment'.⁶

Elaborating on the preoccupation with history as a psychological response to the deep sense of dissatisfaction in the eighteenth century, Kitromilides illustrates the advent of a secular conception of historical time in the emergence of a Greek historiography of contemporary international relations and war. A study of Voulgaris, Moisiiodax and Lesvios, shows that the opposition to new scientific ideas emanated not only from the Church and the superstitions of traditional society, but also from the entrenched scientific ideas of antiquity. The analysis of a manuscript from Smyrna criticising the moral failures of the Orthodox church suggests either possible Protestant theological influences or the independent development of a *sui generis* Eastern protestantism.⁷

Several studies trace the contributions and reception of individual Enlightenment thinkers in Greek cultural life: Jeremy Bentham, John

6. *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism*, 181; see also 'Cultural change and social criticism: the case of Iosipos Moisiiodax' and 'Republican Aspirations in Southeastern Europe in the Age of the French Revolution', *Enlightenment* IV (1989), V (1980).

7. 'War and political consciousness: theoretical implications of eighteenth-century Greek historiography'; 'The idea of science in the modern Greek Enlightenment'; 'Religious criticism between Orthodoxy and Protestantism. Ideological consequences of social conflict in Smyrna', *Enlightenment* II (1982), III (1990), VI (1982).

Stuart Mill. This has turned into a whole line of research with the subsequent publication of works that had not made it into the *Variorum* volume: on John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.⁸ Likewise, the loaded and recently much researched topic of the Enlightenment's ambiguous attitude towards women gets a comparative treatment in the Greek context. Kitromilides analyses the social origins and ideological attitudes of the first modern Greek women intellectuals with special attention to the works of Evanthia Kairi and Elizabeth Moutzan-Martinegou. He shows clearly 'the ideological transition from traditional forms of subjection to the new morality of exclusion which tolerated women as long as they limited themselves to a monologue within their own sex'.⁹ As Kitromilides himself points out, this has been one of his most successful articles, widely acclaimed for its pioneering impetus in the fields of gender and women's studies.

Without any doubt, Kitromilides's most influential and widely discussed study has been his 1989 publication "Imagined Communities" and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans'. At the basis of his theoretical approach to Balkan nationalism lies his dissent with the conventional historiography treating nationalism within the paradigm of 'national awakening'. Accordingly, Kitromilides questions the notion of national continuity and particularly the interpretation of ethnic identity as a kind of dormant nationalism. By employing Benedict Anderson's concept of 'imagined communities', Kitromilides stresses the instrumental character of nationalism within a very specific historic context: modernity.

Kitromilides directs his revisionism to two major problems: one is the correlation between the modern state and nationalism; the other

8. 'Jeremy Bentham and Adamantios Korais', *Enlightenment* VIII (1985); 'European political thought in the making of Greek liberalism: the Second National Assembly 1862-1864 and the reception of John Stuart Mill's ideas in Greece', *Enlightenment* IX (1988); 'Le retentissement des idées de Jean-Jacques Rousseau au sein du radicalisme balkanique à l'époque de la Révolution française', Tanguy L'Aminot, ed., *Politique et révolution chez Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris 1994); 'John Locke and the Greek Intellectual Tradition: An Episode in Locke's Reception in South-East Europe', G.A.J. Rogers, ed., *Locke's Philosophy. Content and Context* (Oxford 1994).

9. 'The Enlightenment and womanhood: cultural change and the politics of exclusion', *Enlightenment* VII (1983), 56.

concerns the role of Orthodoxy. He takes a firm stand on the causal relationship, and argues for the constructedness of nations by states. In the past decades an authoritative historiography has analysed this process in Western Europe, especially France, and this is the first such attempt to treat developments in the Balkans from this perspective. The mechanism of charging with national sentiment involves the imprinting of concepts of national identity upon social groups whose ethnic definition might have evolved in alternative ways. In his words, 'nation-building was a dynamic process not of "national awakening", but of forging collective identity as part of the creation of a sense of community that was essential in cementing the social cohesion of the new nation-states of the nineteenth century'.¹⁰ Describing nation-building as the cultivation of a homogenising national identity, Kitromilides deals with its main mechanisms: the army, the educational system, and the judiciary. Basing himself on statistics, political pamphlets and *belles lettres*, Kitromilides shows how the mechanisms of national integration served the centralisation of power by destroying local autonomy and extending the grip of the bureaucracy, and how they were underpinned by nationalistic rhetoric as a legitimising device. One of Kitromilides's major achievements is his clear, and yet eminently sophisticated, account of the external dimension of Greek nation-building. His examples illustrate the ambiguity of ethnic identities, their malleability, their polyvalence, as it were, the possibility to be charged with and evolve in different directions, both among the neighbouring non-Greek groups of Albanians, Vlachs, Bulgarians and others, as well as among the Greek-speaking or Turcophone Orthodox population of Asia Minor. In this respect, the activity of the Greek consulates and the network of Greek schools after the 1830s proved crucial for the successful exportation of the national idea. In the general opposition of premordialists versus modernists in the explanation of nationalism, Kitromilides is situated firmly in the modernist camp. His approach establishes, in my view successfully, the idea of the recent provenance, i.e. the modernity of nationalism. In his effort at combating the organicist idea, Kitromilides naturally

10. *Enlightenment* XI (1989), 160.

pays less attention, but does not deny, the continuity of certain patterns of perception and articulation. It will be a compliment to Kitromilides's pioneering scholarship when more students of nationalism begin looking into these continuities, while having internalised as a given the modern nature of the phenomenon.

In a way, the major revisionist feat of Kitromilides is his treatment of the antinomy between Orthodoxy and nationalism. Setting himself the task of re-examining the prevailing assumption of Orthodoxy as the champion of nationalism, Kitromilides seeks to demonstrate 'the essential incompatibility between the imagined community of religion and the imagined community of the nation'.¹¹ While not denying that the Orthodox church in the Balkans preserved collective identity in the period of Ottoman rule, Kitromilides insists that it remained a supranational organisation. Not only was the Orthodox church not an early champion of nationalism, but it was only after the radical interruption of the Orthodox religious tradition with the abandonment of the ecumenical principle and the 'nationalisation' of the churches, that the separate Orthodox churches became involved in the process of nation-building. In essence, Kitromilides strives to rectify the sin of ahistoricism committed by a host of historians: the tendency to read back this subsequent role of Orthodoxy and endow it with causal power.

Powerful as this revisionism is, it nonetheless needs some correctives and refinements. Analytically, it is based exclusively on the Greek case, and the other Balkan cases are assumed by analogy. True, the Greek case, by virtue of the paramount role of Greek letters and education as the intellectual medium of a vast majority of Balkan Christian elites during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, explains the special attention it receives but this does not warrant its elevation into a Balkan paradigm. For example, the assertion that early modern Balkan society was culturally homogenised by the Orthodox Church, is overdone. Kitromilides himself allows for the separate development of Serbian Orthodoxy, and, in the Romanian case, the Danubian Principalities became part of the cultural sphere

11. *Enlightenment* XI, 177.

of Constantinople only with the imposition of Phanariot rule. To say that 'the literature produced in Greek under the impact of the ideas of the Enlightenment introduced for the first time the concepts of distinct ethnic identities in Balkan society' is simply incorrect.¹² Distinct ethnic identities were well known in Balkan society and, in fact, were a concept internalised and implemented in the practice of the Byzantine Orthodox tradition. They hardly disappeared during the centuries of Ottoman rule. What can be asserted at the most is that these identities were submerged within the hierarchies of different group identities which were, without any doubt, dominated by the identity of religion. In this sense, but in this sense only, did the elevation of ethnic identities, based primarily on language, as dominant forms, herald the advent of the imagined community of the nation and the destruction of the imagined community of religion. This objection should not be read as endorsing the view of organic, unchangeable ethnic identities. On the contrary, I wholeheartedly agree with Paschalis Kitromilides that ethnic identities might have and did evolve in alternative ways under the impact of competing nationalisms but this is a far cry from giving short shrift to ethnic identities, no matter how marginal and malleable.

The above-quoted statement also negates the direct contacts and channels of ideas, established between Western and Central Europe, and representatives of the non-Greek Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire. This is obvious in the Serb and Romanian cases, but it can be even argued for the Bulgarian case where, indeed, the Greek language became the most important medium of transmission. However, this, as it were, natural Hellenisation (not to be mixed up with conscious attempts at ethnic assimilation) was a fairly late development: from the middle of the eighteenth century on and especially during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Not only does it not hold for all five centuries of Ottoman rule but it held sway only over a thin social layer: the newly rising commercial class schooled in the existing Greek educational network.

Kitromilides introduces the thought of Demetrios Katartzis who, in the 1780s, promoted the use of the Greek vernacular and argued

12. *Ibid.*, 151.

'against the strictures of some "Franks" that the Greeks did not have a homeland of their own'.¹³ This is exactly (and in much the same words) what the Bulgarian Father Paisii has been arguing some twenty years earlier, only against the predominance and strictures of the Greeks, not the 'Franks'. Moreover, Paisii's intellectual Enlightenment inspiration, as well as his historical sources, were transmitted almost exclusively through a Slavic medium: Russian, Polish or Serb translations of Italian and Latin authors, alongside original works. That these initial ideas in the Bulgarian case fell on fertile ground and mobilised the emerging intellectuals only after the turn of the century, is an illustration of the precociousness of ideas, and that their instrumentalisation is possible only given a propitious social context. For the Bulgarian territories, this occurred only after the 1820s, when the prolonged anarchy and devastation gave way to a period of internal stability and economic progress.

As already noted, these critical observations aim only at refining, not questioning the model proposed by Paschalis Kitromilides. His subsequent work itself is a testimony to his constant attempt to improve on his comparative approach, as for example in his recent excellent and nuanced study of 'Balkan mentality'.¹⁴ When I met Paschalis Kitromilides at the VII Congress of South-East European Studies in Thessaloniki in 1994, he described himself as a political scientist aspiring to be a good historian of the Balkans. With typical modesty, he attributes his success among historians to the excellent graduate programme at Harvard University which, because of its European inheritance, had retained its strong connections with history in the political science programme.¹⁵ It is a measure of perfectionism when one strives to reach the excellence one has actually achieved.

University of Florida

13. *Ibid.*, 153-154.

14. "'Balkan mentality": history, legend, imagination', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2, part 2 (July 1996) 163-191.

15. 'Intellectual history as cultural criticism: Enlightenment versus Nationalism', *European Review of History* 2/2 (1995) 262.

Greece and the European Union in the 1990s: the challenge to the domestic state

KEVIN FEATHERSTONE

Introduction

For the last decade or more, domestic political debate in Greece has focussed on the nature and role of the state. The debate has raised questions about the extent of the state's role in the domestic economy, and the state's domination of civil society. New liberal economic philosophy has pressed for greater market freedoms, on the one hand, whilst separate criticism has been made of the corruption and inefficiency of the 'party-state'. On both fronts — political and economic — the domestic role of the state has appeared to be under more serious challenge than for many years previously (Featherstone, 1994).

In parallel to these domestic developments has been Greek membership of the European Community (now the European Union, EU). Indeed, the process of European integration has greatly intensified over more or less the same period. The Single European Market (SEM) and the Maastricht Treaty represent a substantial deepening of the integration process: European policies stretch more widely and penetrate domestic politics more deeply than ever before.

These two sets of development appear to be related, to some degree. The conditions of EU membership have imposed new demands on the Greek polity, and these demands have encouraged calls for the reform of the state. In recent years the vocabulary of Greek politics has been dominated by the notion of 'modernisation'. A new generation of political leaders has appeared proclaiming themselves to be the agents of this process.¹ Fundamental to their notion of modernisation

1. The concept of modernisation is 'polysemic' — that is to say, it has different meanings according to the theoretical contexts within which it functions' (Mouzelis, 1996: 215). Here is it used in the broad sense denoted in the speeches of Costas Simitis *et al.* to refer to reform of the state's relationship to the domestic economy and to civil society.

is the need to keep in step with the changing terms of EU membership. Not for the first time in modern Greek history, 'modernisation' is being equated with 'Europeanisation' (cf. Ioakimidis, 1996; Ladrech, 1987).

But what is the relationship between 'Europeanisation' and 'modernisation'? What is the impact of EU policies on the choices facing Greek governments? Has EU membership strengthened the Greek state or exacerbated its external dependency? These are questions which are central to any understanding of contemporary Greek politics: the nature and role of the state; as well as its legitimacy and capability. At the heart of this relationship is the economic dimension: for the challenges to Greece are particularly acute in the single market and the transition to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Whether Greece remains a full member of the EU or is relegated to some outer circle in a 'multi-speed' integration process will be determined largely by economic criteria (Kazakos, 1991). Moreover, it is, perhaps, in the general economic domain that questions of Greek dependency or gain from EU membership appear at their most complex. For these reasons, the following analysis will focus primarily on general economic policy matters: on the political economy of Greece's EU membership. In any event, foreign and security issues are discussed elsewhere in this volume.

The EU, the Greek State and Open Markets

The impact of EU membership on the Greek political economy highlights the following five basic themes:

- (i) *A monetary and fiscal straitjacket*: The acceptance of the terms of entry into EMU acts as a major constraint on domestic policy choices — indeed, it largely defines the agenda — and it closely affects the nature of the discourse between the major political actors;
- (ii) *A penetrated state administration*: EU integration in a wider sense has penetrated deeply into the practices of the state administration itself, and has entailed a very substantial financial dependency of the state on EU aid schemes, such that the latter are crucial to all new large-scale infrastructure projects;

(iii) *Power to the market*: The content of EU policy often involves a shift of power away from the Greek state to market forces, both domestic and international, as de-regulation opens-up a home market previously based on heavy-handed protection and control;

(iv) *Imported policy philosophies*: In EU negotiations, successive Greek governments have been generally placed in a weak bargaining position and have had only a marginal impact on collective EU agreements: they are thus the 'import-agents' of the new measures, rather than the key authors of them;

(v) *Core executive dominance*: Where influence or discretion is available to the Greek government in connection with EU policies, the nature of EU policy-making is such that it tends to advantage small circles of actors within the government executive over other domestic actors, creating a 'democratic deficit' in EU policies at home as well as at the EU level.

Each of these aspects will be examined in turn below. Taken together, they denote the hegemony exercised within the EU and the dependency of weaker peripheral states on the EU's institutions and resources. *Europeanisation* as *modernisation* transforms the capabilities of the domestic state and changes attitudes towards its reform. 'Europeanised' elites in Greece are intent on using the EU to gain a domestic reform not available to them by any other means.² Indeed, 'Europeanisation' helps reform to be more attractive: much of Greek public opinion consents to more power by 'Brussels' and less by 'Athens'.

It is important to insert several qualifications at this early stage. Even without membership of the European Union, Greece would be subject to significant pressures and constraints as a result of the major changes occurring in the international economy. The trend towards globalised, open markets is one that could not leave the Greek state

2. This process of using the popularity of the EU to engineer domestic reform can also be applied to Italy; see Dyson & Featherstone, 1996.

unscathed in its international trade. But membership of the European Union has intensified these external economic pressures: the EU has been a conduit, or a channel, for the pressures emanating from the wider international economy and the EU has given them its own distinctive imprint. Moreover, *all* member-states are affected by these EU policies to varying degrees. The Greek condition is not unique, though as a weak peripheral state it displays these features more intensively than most. It is thus a useful case-study revealing trends less apparent elsewhere.

Finally, it is not being suggested here that the Greek state, with its long and deeply entrenched administrative culture, is somehow being transformed overnight. It has grown obese, inefficient and, at times, corrupt. It is an archipelago, based on ill-coordinated institutions which themselves display a Napoleonic hierarchy and a suffocating legalism in their internal operation. The state dominates the wider civil society; the 'party-state' survives on traditions of clientelism, and pluralism is weak as a result. These are characteristics which are rooted in Greek political culture and history and they are not easily overcome. They can be compared to other southern European societies: in the main, each of them also have poor records of implementing and abiding by EU laws. This is politics in the semi-periphery, as Mouzelis (1986) would have it. Yet, the argument here is that the process of 'Europeanisation' has become more intense and constraining in the 1990s. It weakens the autonomy of state as a whole — in the content and range of policy options available to it — and the EU has begun to change *how* state institutions can operate and the flow of resources available to them. These constitute significant revisions to the autonomy and conduct of the Greek state; but they have not somehow up-rooted it.

A monetary and fiscal straitjacket

The terms of EU membership have been made much more severe and restricting by the SEM and EMU. The objective, accepted by the bulk of the Greek political elite, of remaining a full EU member sets a tight constraint on the domestic policy options of the Athens government. This is most obviously the case with the convergence criteria for the transition to a single European currency. Like all EU

governments, Greece must submit its economic plans — called a convergence programme — to the scrutiny of its partners. Successive Greek governments have accepted the need to meet the convergence targets. As a result, the government deficit has to be more than halved; government debt has to fall from 110% of GDP to near 60%; interest rates have to be greatly reduced from their current level of around 15%; and inflation has to get much closer to the European norm. Panandoniou, the Finance Minister, talks of Greece joining EMU by the the year 2000 or 2001, but the EU Commission in April 1997 noted that the rate of reduction in the key economic indicators had to be more than doubled if the convergence programme targets for Greece were to be achieved. Thus, even the delayed entry target of 2000 or 2001 seems optimistic.

With a political decision to avoid raising tax levels, the Greek government is left to reform the existing tax system. The debt and deficit is to be reduced by boosting tax revenues. The tax base is being extended: tax liabilities are now assessed on the basis of 'objective criteria' which set minimum levels of income to be accepted in the returns of professionals and the self-employed. But perhaps an even more remarkable shift of policy is the decision to include farmers in the tax net for the first time: their liability is now assessed on the basis of the size of their land and the levels of EU subsidies for the crops they grow. Every Greek has been obliged to complete an income tax declaration. Ever distrustful of the state, the Greek voter is now locked into a more fierce tussle over tax than ever before.

The point, however, is that this new tax regime is the indirect result of the EMU obligations that each of the major Greek parties have accepted. The Italians have a one-year 'Euro-tax' under Romano Prodi, the Greeks aim to have a more efficient and pervasive tax system.

Moreover, in the desire to curtail the public debt and deficit, the Simitis budget for 1997 prioritises the need for a greater discipline in spending by other state institutions. This is to affect local government, hospitals and social welfare organisations. The money saved may be reallocated. The reach of the convergence constraint has thus been set ever wider.

It might be contended that 'Europeanisation' affects the domestic political agenda, but leaves the precise form of implementation to national governments. Indeed, Pagoulatos (1996) found this to be the case in his case study of European obligations on Greek policy on banking de-regulation and on the privatisation of state banks. He concluded that the EC affected the agenda of domestic reform, it created the pressures which generated the policy shifts. However, after the agenda had been set, the process of implementation was an almost exclusively Greek affair. This should not be surprising: in general, the EU does not have the resources to be directly engaged in how policy might be implemented at the national level. The precise form of discretion does, in any event, vary somewhat between EU policy sectors. The obligation to achieve a deficit of 3% is more important than the precise manner in which it is achieved. The overall picture here is that it is not a modest statement to be able to argue that the agenda of reform was crucially determined by 'Europe'.

A penetrated state administration

In some cases, the argument can actually be extended to state that EU obligations *have* affected the processes of administration and policy implementation in Greece. The Mitsotakis government was obliged to adopt a policy of replacing only one out of every three civil servants: this was to satisfy the European Commission that Greece deserved further tranches of its Convergence funds. In the event, the policy was not fully implemented: the government fell back on traditional forms of patronage to satisfy its supporters. Yet, the constraint remains: the Papandoniou budget for 1997 referred to replacing only one-in-five civil servants. With a huge public debt, the Greek government inevitably is faced with controlling the costs of the obese state bureaucracy. With more than 60% of government expenditure going to public sector wages and pensions, staffing levels are a natural target.

In addition, the ability of the Greek state to award public contracts is constrained by EU obligations and these are set to tighten in 1998. The controversy surrounding the award of the contract to build the new airport at Spata, east of Athens, highlighted the current and the future constraints. Greece needed the injection of EU funds to make

the project viable: the Commission was an essential patron of the project. Indeed, it was the biggest infrastructure project backed by the EC. It is to be based on public-private sector collaboration and is worth some ECU 2 billion (or £1.64 billion). The award of the contract placed Athens under the adjudication of the Commission. After much controversy, the Commission went along with what Athens wanted, but the conflict highlighted the limited room for manoeuvre available to the Greek government. The dispute began with the Mitsotakis government awarding the contract to the German-led consortium of Hochtief. It allowed the German consortium a 60% stake in the new airport company and a 50 year contract to operate the airport. An alternative French bidder complained it had been unfairly treated. Later, the Papandreou government sought to re-open the tenders: it accepted the German bid, but won more favourable terms for the state: the German consortium will have only a 45% share and a contract for just 30 years. The Commission was pressed by the chief rival bidder — Dumez GTM, a French construction company — to disallow the contract as it alleged irregularities in the procedures that had been followed. The Commission was placed in an awkward political position: it was being asked to arbitrate between a German and a French claim. In the end, it decided to allow the German consortium to go ahead. The Commission refused to use the legal weapons at its disposal under the Treaty of Rome: they were felt to be inappropriate in this case. Yet, by 1998 Greece will be bound by new EU rules on the award of public contracts which greatly strengthen the Commission's power to intervene and which provide for much greater transparency and competition.

The Commission was already more assertive in the case in 1996 of the contract to modernise the main north-south railway in Greece. It insisted on the appointment of international managers for the project. The contract — worth some \$2 billion — was won by an international consortium led by Halcrow of Britain. Similarly, the work on the new motorway linking the Adriatic with Istanbul (the Egnatia highway) has been placed under the supervision of the Brown and Root company. The contract is worth some \$3.5 billion and it is again clear that the Commission is tightening-up its control of infrastructure projects in Greece.

Another dimension of the loss of autonomy by Greek governments is the dependency of Athens on the development aid provided from the budget of the EU (Featherstone & Ifantis, 1996). Greece has become highly dependent on EU money to support major infrastructure projects. Under the so-called Cohesion funds, Greece is entitled to receive up to ECU 16.8 billion in EU grants over the next five years. That is approximately \$14.3 billion or about \$138 for every man, woman and child in Greece. Clearly, without such aid, there would be substantially less public investment in capital projects in Greece. Yet, EU support for Greece extends well beyond transport projects. Any discerning tourist travelling around the Greek countryside can testify to the improved living standards of farmers. EU finance is crucial to the Greek economy: it is estimated that some \$16.5 million dollars goes to Greece each day from the EU. Without such finance, the demands on Greek fiscal policy would be even more severe.

Of course, some would argue that the large amount of money given to Greece by the EU has 'bought' the support of Greeks for the European cause. This might explain why successive Greek governments have been willing to sacrifice their sovereignty: they have traded power for money, Greece enjoys 'relative gains' as it gets out more than it puts in. The receipt of such large amounts of money must have had a major impact on public attitudes: the citizen can see the tangible evidence of EU support.

Yet, the 'relative gain' of Greece has to be set in perspective. Firstly, despite the widespread impression to the contrary, Greece has not received the lion's share of EU aid in recent years. According to the most recent budget data, Ireland receives some £439 each year from the EU for every man, woman and child. That is £150 less than the Greeks, who receive £289 (*The Guardian*, 28.1.97 reporting from *Hansard*). The allocation of EC aid is not directly proportional to economic need. Moreover, whilst Germany pays most into the EC budget, the German voter has been amongst the most enthusiastic for European unity. In other words, the calculation of 'relative gains' is not a simple or unambiguous matter.

Secondly, the receipt of EU aid is not necessarily a boost to the power of national governments. Indeed, the terms under which the aid is given can further undermine national sovereignty. The Commission

intends to get much tougher in its management of the Cohesion Funds. In 1996, the Commission threatened the weaker member-states that unless they abided by the targets set for their government deficits, no new projects would be financed under the Cohesion Fund in their country. Greece, along with Portugal and Spain, was directly threatened by this new penalty clause.

Power to the market, but whose market?

Other EU policies involve not so much a transfer of sovereignty from Athens to European institutions, as much as a shift of power away from the government to market forces. Tsoukalis and Rhodes (1997) argue that until Maastricht, the 'most important surrender of national economic autonomy has been to the market rather than to supranational institutions' (1997: 19-20). This appears to be borne out by the Greek case. EU constraints here affect controls on state aids to domestic firms; the opening-up of the banking and insurance markets; the liberalisation of capital flows; and the reform of state enterprises in telecommunications and energy. Each of these cases are important in themselves: without the EU obligation, for example, the liberalisation of capital movements is unlikely to have been pursued with the same commitment, nor would the reform of the telecommunications and energy sectors — both of them traditional fiefdoms of the 'party-state'. In other words, EU obligations have affected not only the pace of domestic reform, but also the destination of such reform.

The shift towards 'marketisation' in Greece may have been faltering, controversial and slow but the fact that it has occurred owes much to Greece's membership of the EU. The empowerment of market forces in Greece should not be understood too starkly, however. The Greek economy has few large firms; it is dominated by numerous small enterprises. Even if they have gained greater freedom, their power in the market is limited. Moreover, the state is involved directly in many of the larger enterprises and utilities: the division between the public and private sector is thus rather more blurred than in other states. It may be that with more open markets, the effect of EU membership is to empower *foreign* firms in the Greek market.

Imported policy philosophies, core executive dominance

All the cases cited so far point to the way in which EU obligations limit the political agenda and policy options in Greece. Scholars in the Realist tradition would argue in the opposite direction. Moravcsik (1994) for example, argues that the EU *empowers* national governments. EU policies make governments stronger domestically: they can set the agenda and take the initiative in policy debates.

The application of such an approach to Greece, however, is subject to some heavy qualification. Small states, with weak economies, on the periphery hardly have much power of initiative at the European level. Greece has a seat at the top table, but France and Germany dominate the EU agenda. At the EU level, Greece more often has to respond than initiate. Domestically, the Greek government becomes the *agency* for implementing policies it has had only a small part in drafting.

The content of the EMU package is a major example of this. The Mitsotakis government was outvoted on a number of major items of the EMU policy; in the IGC negotiations it found itself in opposition to much of the prevailing economic orthodoxy on the management of monetary policy. It was also defeated on some of the institutional issues involved in EMU, and it opposed the right of the EU to impose sanctions, though something like this has been adopted. Thus, it is at the EU level where the political initiative is more important, rather than domestically.

Moravcsik's model would assert that EU integration gives the Greek government institutional advantages at home. This is the argument about the so-called 'democratic deficit': EU integration weakens national parliaments and makes governments less accountable. In general, this is undoubtedly correct: national parliaments find it more difficult to control governments on European as opposed to national policy. It must be repeated, though, that the European policies that Greek governments are seeking to implement are often policies over which they themselves have had only a limited role in determining. Yet, it is important to note the dominance of certain actors within the government executive over EU policy. Moravcsik's model also suggests that EU integration places the Greek government at a domestic advantage in its possession of privileged technical and political information. This seems largely uncontestable. Opposition parties and

interest groups are involved in their own European associations and networks, but the information gained via these channels is surely less than that available to governments. National governments do not control domestic access to 'Europe', but they do enjoy privileges. This is consistent with the concept of the 'core executive' as developed by Rhodes and Dunleavy (1995).

Finally, Moravcsik's model asserts that national governments have an ideological advantage over domestic groups. This seems to be a two-edged coin. Certainly, governments can use 'Europe' as a justification for what would otherwise be unpopular policies. In Greece, the ability to claim that there is no alternative but to accept the prevailing EU orthodoxy and institute budget austerity and market liberalisation, in order to stay a full member of the EU club, has empowered the modernisers. The toughness of the current Papandoniou budget is being justified in similar terms. He is using the popularity of 'Europe' to push through difficult economic measures. In other words, he is engaged in 'blame-shift', transferring the onus for policy to 'Europe'. Moreover, the political ability of Simitis to stand firm against the demands of Greek farmers in December 1996 can be explained, in part, by the European commitments accepted by Athens. The farmers' protests and roadblocks were overcome at least partly because few thought it was possible to accede to their demands and still sustain Greece's European obligations. In this sense, the binding constraints represented by the EU strengthen the political position of governments in facing down domestic lobbies and their protests.

Yet, the ideological effect of EU membership is also for Greek governments, to some extent, to have 'imported' policies and philosophies from Western Europe into the domestic Greek arena. The philosophy of de-regulation represented by the Single Market and the monetary rigour of the Maastricht Treaty are distinct, if not alien, to the Greek tradition. True, since the mid-1980s there has been an indigenous movement for economic liberalism in Greece, but by itself this was a faltering and uncertain trend (Featherstone, 1994). The political problems faced by Andreas Andrianopoulos and by Constantine Mitsotakis would seem to testify to this. In other words, the ideological effect of EU membership on Greece might be portrayed in terms of an hegemony of ideas, and one largely authored

by Greece's partners rather than by herself. An EU hegemony has limited the scope of domestic debate in Greece.

Conclusions

Putting all this together, one is left to consider the notions of 'hegemony' and 'dependency' in the context of Greece's membership of the EU (Seers, 1981). The nature and content of the economic policy pursued in Greece over the last decade owes much to EU-level agreements. Hegemony is apparent in the straitjacket posed by EU policies and philosophies on the agenda of the Greek government. The single market and EMU represent the imposition of an ideological frame alien to the Greek government. Hegemony over policy content is exercised by the core EU powers, primarily the Franco-German axis. As a small and weak economy, Greece is dependent on the core member-states in the terms of its domestic economic management — such as the discipline of the EMU agreement — and in its need for development aid. In short, 'Europeanisation' as modernisation is based on hegemony and dependency.

The terms and conditions of EU membership vary significantly between the larger, core member-states and the smaller, peripheral states such as Greece. The domestic impact of European integration does not have a uniform character between different types of state, though this has been an implicit assumption in so much of the theoretical literature on European integration. The variation results from differences in matters such as domestic state traditions (state-economy, state-civil society relations); the administrative culture of the state bureaucracy; the financial dependency on EU aid; external economic competitiveness; the nature and structure of the domestic market; and of clashes of political culture, more generally.

Why, then, has a member-state like Greece accepted the constraints of EU membership? There are a number of components in answering this basic question. Firstly, membership of the EU has its own momentum and constraints. Membership sets nations on a particular path; governments have invested much in membership: there are substantial sunk costs (North, 1990). Thus, exit is a costly alternative: so much so that it becomes increasingly unthinkable. To some extent, membership places Greece in political processes beyond the control of the government in Athens.

Moreover, the EU offers a protection against the pressures of the wider international economy. Globalisation and market liberalisation impinge on all developed nations, in or out of the EU (cf. Boyer and Drache, 1996). The EU, however, offers some degree of social solidarity and of transfer payments to compensate for the penetration of markets. The EU gives much-needed financial support to Greece. It also gives some foreign policy leverage: a clout that would not otherwise be available.

EU membership also has an impact on attitudes, both for the public and various national elites. Any government in Athens is encouraged to be favourable to further integration by the depth of public support for 'Europe' in Greece. 'Europe' is very popular with the public; indeed, in many respects 'Brussels' is more popular than 'Athens'. To the average Greek voter, the EU increasingly represents modernisation; higher standards; better economic conditions; and access to much-needed public finance. 'Europe' is the future; by contrast, 'Athens' appears immobile, inefficient, and at times corrupt. It may not be possible to determine who is leading whom — whether EU support in Greece is led by elites or whether elites are being led by public opinion — but it is clear that each reinforces the other. Indeed, a divergence between elites and the public on this could have manifold consequences.

The contrast in attitudes towards Brussels and Athens is expressed in the high levels of public support in Greece for further European unity. On all the most important items on the agenda of the EU, Greeks register some of the highest levels of support. The most telling contrast, perhaps, is that concerning a single European currency. Clear majorities of Greeks prefer to have the new 'Euro' rather than the drachma. All this may seem so rational, so much in the Greek interest. After all, the 'Euro' will be a far more stable currency than the drachma has been. But, it is important to note what message this is giving to policy-makers: Greeks are saying 'more Brussels, and less Athens'; the public is content to sacrifice national sovereignty as part of the 'Europeanisation' process.

In any event, EU membership has affected elite attitudes as well. For the modernisers, the domestic policy paradigm has been radically altered. New issues are increasingly examined by them through the

lens of 'Europe'. The programme of Costas Simitis, Theo Pangalos, Yiannos Papandoniou, and Vasso Papandreou in the governing PASOK party would have little meaning without their reference to the obligations of EU membership. EU commitments are being used to justify and engineer domestic reform. The effect is to make public policy rather more technocratic, and rather less the subject of conflictual ideologies. The effect of policies like the single market and EMU is to place a discipline on policymakers. The Papandoniou budget for 1997, for example, recognises the discipline of market pressures: the government is interpreting and giving signals to the market, distinct from the normal electoral concerns.

Thus, the constraints of EU membership become accepted and internalised. The beneficiaries are the 'modernisers', for the domestic displacement of power is in their favour. In this respect, the Moravcsik model is relevant. EU membership gives the initiative; the institutional advantage; and the technical information to the modernisers. The irony is that in the process of modernisation, Greece becomes more dependent on the core of the EU and more subject to its hegemony. Modernisation as Europeanisation makes Greece more open, more penetrated, and more vulnerable to the demands of the EU core. In short, 'Europeanisation' is fundamental to an understanding of the Greek political system in the 1990s.

University of Bradford

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Greece in the future enlarged European Union

OTHON ANASTASAKIS

For Greece, to be part of the European Communities/European Union, it has always been a constant challenge to the country's international position. Sixteen years of EC membership have had a remarkable political, diplomatic, socio-economic and cultural effect on the country's internal domain. Indeed, EC membership has contributed to the consolidation of democratic internal processes, it has influenced the administrative capacity of the state, it has affected the external political orientation of the country's foreign policy objectives, it has benefited the economy from substantial financial community transfers and it has brought the Greek culture closer to the other western European cultures. Seen from a more critical perspective, EC membership has also produced severe shock effects, as the Greek economy has been increasingly exposed to European trade and the subsequent single market and it keeps on breeding social tensions in the process of economic and monetary integration.

While it is fairly easy to assess the impact of EC membership on the country, as well as the impact of Greek membership on the European Communities, as a whole, to speculate on Greece's future within the European Union is by definition problematic, given the fact that no one can envisage exactly what the future European Union will be like. There is no analogous historical precedent of a similar economic and political entity composed as it is, by wealthy and independent-minded western European sovereign nation states. European integration has always been a continuous process in the making which has to accommodate the national particularities and sensitivities of different member states. Despite the initial scepticism, Greece, in the course of time, has become more and more committed to the ideals of European integration while, at the same time, the country has been trying to safeguard its national interests and promote its national priorities.

Current situation in the European Union

Before embarking on a more systematic evaluation of the particular national issues that will determine Greece's course in the future European Union, we have to dwell upon the present European state of play, and speculate on the future course of the European Union towards the beginning of the 21st century. More specifically, the process of the Intergovernmental Conference for the revision of the Maastricht Treaty, the negotiations for accession with the applicant countries of Eastern Europe and Cyprus, the prospect of the Economic and Monetary Union with the adoption of a single currency and the 1999 revision of the EU budget — structural funds and CAP — testify to an agenda that is going to change the character of the European Union, in the future. Indeed, the international changes of the 1990s that led to the decision for a future enlargement mark the beginning of a new era in the future of the European continent, whereby the European Communities cease to be the exclusive club of the powerful rich western European states, by embracing the majority of the countries in Europe, West and East. Such a prospect becomes a challenge not only for the European Union, as a whole, but also for the individual member states which have to reevaluate their particular national interests and strategies.

The revision of the Maastricht Treaty was a necessity which emanated from the prospect of the future enlargement and was based on the assumption that a Union of 25 to 30 member states has to rely on a more efficient institutional system, a more cooperative political framework and a Union closer to the problems of its citizens. With the end of the Intergovernmental Conference, we are in a position to draw some very general and interesting remarks, as to the current situation and to make some predictions, as to the way the Union might be developing in the future.

I. A sceptical climate

The first remark relates to the general climate within which the negotiations of the IGC have taken place. Despite the initial plans for a far-reaching and over-ambitious revision that could result to a more closely integrated community environment, it became evident

that the countries of the EU were not prepared to accept a more integrated federalist approach. The majority of the European public opinion is not convinced that a federally organised European Union will be able to deliver a better life for the people of its member states. Western economies are currently hit by unacceptable rates of unemployment which have created disaffection among large sectors of the European societies towards the priorities set by Brussels. Public disaffection has also grown by the lack of transparency in the Union mechanisms, generating a need for a more democratic legitimacy of the Union institutions.

Hence, the IGC negotiations were being conducted in the context of a cautious and pragmatic approach which did not create big ideals on Europe, in an effort to accommodate the various, at times, contradictory national approaches. The current climate which dominates the prospect of the European integration is rather sceptical, as opposed to the more optimistic climate which dominated the post-Single European Act and the pre-Maastricht period.

The only project that seems to have achieved a wider consensus, although this also seems to bear a high cost for all the EU societies, is that of the single currency. If this fails, it is believed it will have unpredictable economic and political consequences, both for the future integration of the European Union, as well as for the member states separately. The single currency has become the most potent symbol of European integration, it presents the only concrete and possible project for the future.

II. *Large vs small states*

The second remark relates to the divisions among member states on the development and reform of the EU institutions. The next enlargement will bring a decisive increase in the number of smaller states, altering the existing balance between large and small countries. Such considerations were mainly dealt at the Intergovernmental Conference and referred to the Council's voting rules, the rotation of the Presidency, the size of the Commission, the appointment of the Commissioners, the representative capacity of the European Parliament, the size of the European Court of Justice. These issues were being presented as a matter of preserving the power of decision-

making in a Union of 25-30 member states and the capacity of the EU institutions to function effectively.

In fact, the larger member states of the European Union have been trying to ascertain their institutional influence, on the grounds of more democratic representation and from a fear that a growing number of medium and small size states will be able to produce majorities in an enlarged European Union, against the will of the big and powerful countries. Facing an upset in the institutional balance at their expense, the medium and small size member states fear a possible marginalisation in the Union's institutions and try, as much as possible, to preserve, the current status quo, and their current institutional weight. While the IGC dealt very extensively with the institutional issue, a final arrangement before enlargement was not accomplished and it is certain that institutional considerations and readjustments will preoccupy the Union countries, possibly at a future Inter-governmental Conference.¹

III. *Flexibility; A hard-core Union*

The third remark concerns the notion of flexibility which came to predominate the discussions in the IGC, inspired mostly by the Franco-German axis.² While the ambitious Franco-German proposal was not realised, the adoption of some form of flexibility was a novelty of the Amsterdam treaty, leaving the door open, in the future, for further ways of enhanced cooperation among countries that want and can cooperate further. This issue generated a further division among the proponents of a multi-speed, hard-core European Union and the more

1. There was a blockage at the Amsterdam summit, illustrating the intense divisions within the Union between the large and the small states. According to the IGC results, there has been a modest increase in qualified majority voting and the number of the Commissioners remains unchanged at present but will be reviewed when new members enter the Union.

2. As early as September 1994, Wolfrang Schäuble and Karl Lamers, on behalf of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, set out a provocative proposal for a 'hard-core Union'. Later, in an article in *Le Monde* (30/11/94), Eduard Balladur contributed a proposal with the idea of 'concentric circles'. On December 6 1995, the French President Chirac and the German Chancellor Kohl published a common letter on the idea of the 'reinforced cooperation', and on 17 October 1996, the French and German Foreign Ministers submitted a joint declaration on the same subject.

peripheral states that fear that they might be marginalised in an enlarged Europe. Southern European countries, in particular, were nervous that this could be used by strong northerners to create their own elite club around membership of the future currency zone. Subsequently, the issue of the successful adoption of the single currency seems to be the first real test for member states to prove their capacity to be in the first wave of countries to join the more integrated economic and monetary organisation of the future.

In sum, the IGC was not able to produce the final constitutional settlement of the European Union before enlargement, although it prepared the way for its successor by proposing a set of arrangements that could reflect potentially the reality of a differentiated integration. A possible future of an imminent multi-speed Europe, hard-core countries and enhanced cooperation, where even big and economically powerful countries such as Britain and Italy would have to be very cautious by the prospect of their marginalisation. It is a sort of 'power politics and economics', radically different from the 19th and early 20th century context, which is not based on the military capabilities of countries but on the economic capabilities of member states within a closely integrated international economic and political organisation.

IV. Enlargement

The next major challenge for the European Union involves the future accession of the less developed countries of Eastern Europe. The future enlargement is different from the previous enlargements of the European Communities/European Union, as it involves countries with no tradition of a free market economy, fragile democracies and important security issues. The list of applicants contains mainly small and medium size countries (with the exception of Poland), economically poor, with high levels of unemployment, low per capita income, large and impoverished agricultural sectors, problematic infrastructure and widespread environmental issues.³

3. All ten countries currently enjoying Europe Agreements (the Visegrad-4, the 3 Baltics, Romania, Bulgaria and Slovenia) are poorer than any previous acceding country at the time of its accession; their average GDP per capita is below 50% (around 30%) of the Union's average; their average agriculture accounts for 26% of the workforce

The future of the European Union will be greatly affected by the prospect of the enlargement to the East. More specifically, the future EU budget and the new CAP policy will be clearly determined by the process of the negotiations with the new applicant countries but will also focus, in principle, on greater efficiency, more budgetary discipline and improved financial management.⁴ EU budget reform will be the cause of great anxiety to all current member states of the EU, contributors and beneficiaries, equally, and it is expected to generate reactions among the EU poorer regions and the EU farmers. Northern countries are reluctant to increase the size of their contribution to the Community budget, Southern countries are afraid they might lose their current financial benefits from the structural funds. Furthermore, political considerations point to the security of the applicant countries, and most important the future architecture of the European continent. The future of CFSP, WEU and NATO membership are part of the security questions, accompanying the applications of Eastern applicant countries, while the delicate balance with Russia seems to preoccupy the political elites of both Eastern and Western countries.

Due to the multiple problems related with the future accession of the Eastern applicant countries, there is a lack of enthusiasm, currently, among the member states regarding the prospect of enlargement.⁵ This is also due to the fact that all member states are currently consumed by the prospect of the European and Monetary Union, struggling to meet the criteria on time. In that sense, the success of the enlargement depends greatly on the success of the EMU project.

compared with only 6% in the Union and contributes an average 8% to their GDP compared with only 2.5% in the Union; their combined GDP represents less than 4% of the GDP of the EU; the applicant countries will increase the population of the Union by 28.5% of the current EU-15 population (by 106 million more inhabitants) and with the exception of Poland and Romania, their populations vary from 1.5 million to 10.3 million inhabitants in an area of 1.1 million square km, representing the 33% of the area of the EU-15.

4. Such were the guidelines adopted by the Commission's Agenda 2000 reports on the future of the Community policies and the next budget of the period 2000-2006 (16.7.97).

5. 'Eastward look; The beginning of open warfare over EU enlargement', *The Times*, Thursday July 17 1997.

Moreover, while all the EU members agree on the necessity and inevitability of Eastern European enlargement, they view the issue from their different national perspective. Their considerations differ, in principle, on the desirable future development of the Union, as well as the speed and extent of enlargement. All of them will be affected by enlargement in one way or the other. Some members due to their geographic proximity are directly concerned with the stability of the region; other members are guided by their traditional diplomatic and trade relations with all or some of the countries in Central and Eastern Europe; others not directly involved are mostly concerned by the the EU institutional and budgetary implications of the enlargement. For all member states the enlargement is not a straightforward issue as it entails both positive and negative effects. It is therefore expected that enlargement to the East will be a protracted and difficult process of negotiations both among member states themselves, as well as among the EU and the applicant countries and will occupy the Union for the next two, maybe three decades to come.⁶

The role of Greece in the process of European integration

These are broadly the basic challenges and perspectives towards the end of the 20th century European Union, a complex and diverse European setting. Within this context of power politics and economics, every member state has to reassess its European position and its national contribution, based on its own national sensitivities, interests, priorities and objectives. The national particularities of each member state are clearly the result of different historical, geographical, socio-economic, political and cultural parameters. It is now time to proceed with Greece's European and national interests which determine the country's attitude towards the future of the Union and will define its national role and contribution in the process of further European integration.

6. On 16 July 1997, the Commission published its Agenda 2000 containing its opinion on each applicant state. It recommended that the first wave of negotiations should include six states: Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia and Cyprus.

Greece's European and national interests

The Greek official European position

Greece is an ardent supporter of both deepening and widening of the European Union. These are the main guidelines of the official European position of the country. Greece has declared that it favours deeper integration:

- with democratically structured and legitimate institutions that guarantee the institutional equality of member states;
- with common policies, actions and economic resources that contribute to the strengthening of social cohesion, social justice and solidarity;
- with an efficient common foreign and security and probably defence policy, capable of safeguarding the independence, security, external borders and territorial integrity of the Union and its member states.⁷

To that effect, Greece expects a communitarised CFSP system which will be able to protect the territorial integrity and the external frontiers of the EU, and to adopt the principles of solidarity and mutual defence assistance. Moreover, Greece is interested in the communitarisation of the third pillar issues, in the field of justice and home affairs, and particularly, the cases of immigration, asylum, terrorism and drugs. Greece, at the same time, favours the successful enlargement of the European Union to include Cyprus and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

This is the official position of the country, the European orientation of the Greek government which currently enjoys the positive opinion of the majority of the political parties and social forces within Greece. Behind the unequivocally pro-European position of the country lie all the anxieties of Greek foreign policy and the country's more narrowly defined national interests based on the national particularities of the country, as a member state of the Union.

7. Memorandum 'For a European Union with Political and Social Content (Greece's contribution to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference)', Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1996.

Greek national particularities

What are the national specificities of the Greek member state of the European Union?

First, Greece is a medium size country in terms of population and size and as such it feels threatened by some of the institutional innovations put forth at the IGC. Together with the other smaller member states, Greece tried to preserve the present system of weighting of votes in the Council of Ministers, the current system of rotating Presidency, the right of all member states to appoint one Commissioner and one judge in the European Court.

Second, Greece is a geographically remote country in the Union, sharing no border with any member state of the Union, while at the same time being surrounded by unstable neighbours. It is the only Union country that faces a real prospect of a war threat from the east, and borders unstable neighbours from the Balkan north. In this sense, Greece is unique in its foreign policy considerations when compared with the other countries of the European Union safer surroundings. Subsequently, Greece is very sensitive in the protection of the Union's frontiers which will evidently mean that her own frontiers are also protected, a cause she had been pursuing persistently during the IGC negotiations.

Third, Greece is the weakest economy in the European Union and as such it is threatened by the prospect of flexibility and the creation of a hard-core Union. While Greece will not be among the first wave of EMU countries, it has bound its economic policy to the aim of the EMU and tries to achieve the criteria by 2001.

Greek national interests

Greece has a unique interest in promoting, as soon as possible, the accession of Cyprus in the European Union, its undeniable ally in the future process of European integration. Together with Cyprus as a member state, Greece expects to create a more influential presence in the Union processes. Unlike the other applicant Eastern countries, Cyprus is economically prepared to become a full member of the European Union. It is also anticipated that Cyprus' membership in the European Union will contribute to a solution of the lingering division of the island. Yet, the political problems of the division of

Cyprus and a toughening Turkish position seem to indicate that the process towards the Cypriot accession will be a difficult task for all sides involved in the negotiations.

While the accession of Cyprus is indisputably favourable to Greece's national interests, the enlargement to the East poses more ambivalent feelings. Economic and budgetary considerations impose a more cautious approach. Greece together with the other Mediterranean countries and the poorer regions of the EU is primarily concerned with preserving existing cash transfers, all the more so given the increasing competition that will be inflicted upon their industries and agricultures. Despite the budgetary implications, Greece is particularly interested in the Balkan economic area for the promotion of its trade and investment and is therefore expected to forward the candidacies of Bulgaria and Romania.

However, Greece's primary interest in its Balkan neighbours is not only economic but also political; the major aim is to support developments towards stability. Upheavals in the Balkans affect Greece sooner and more severely than any other EU country. Moreover, security considerations in view of the eastern threat call for a more comprehensive Balkan cooperation and the successful accession of Bulgarian and Romanian cases. Greece has the best opportunity of becoming a strategic member state in the Balkans and support the effective reconstruction of the tormented Balkan territory.

It is true that the international position of the country has been profoundly affected by the post-communist international environment. Many analysts seem to think that the new situation offers enormous opportunities for the country's international status; a new role for Greece in the unstable Balkans, where Greece is the only country to have a stable democratic political system, the strongest economy in the area and the membership in all the powerful international organisations. In that respect, Greece has a unique historic new role as a member state of the European Union to bring the Balkan interests closer to the European Union's attention, since it is the only member state that is so well acquainted with the peculiarities of the Balkan peninsula.

Having mentioned Greece's European and national objectives, the country's course of action and its negotiating capacity depend on two different factors:

- The first refers to the limits imposed by the national interests of the other member states. National conflicts are in many instances so serious and the interests of the various EU members so contradictory that despite all efforts to act in concert, the governments continue to act independently and nationally-mindedly. Especially, in the field of foreign and security policy, such disagreements become even more pronounced. Moreover, the new climate of power politics and economics creates a much more competitive environment in the future of the member states of the European Union.
- The second factor refers to the internal consensus on the external orientation of the country. So far, the European orientation of Greece is widely accepted by the majority of Greeks. However, despite the general consensus, there are forces within the Greek internal domain that could severely react to the particular negotiating choices and jeopardise the European course of the country. Furthermore, Greece has its hard-line nationalists with anti-foreign sentiments, the same kind of Euro-sceptic nationalism that can be found in other countries in Europe. Nationalist feelings are prevalent in all the member states of the European Union which determine to a large degree the governments' attitudes towards the future of European integration. However, in the Greek case while there is an overwhelming majority that favours the European course of Greek development, Greeks are also conscious of the country's very sensitive international position. This makes it often difficult to disentangle the European policy of the country from its more narrowly defined national policy.

It is sometimes perceived by the Greek public opinion that the European Union states are not very compassionate with their fellow-partner's national anxieties. Similarly, Greece, at times, gives the impression that it pursues its European policy on a self-centred, less flexible way, in the service of a narrowly defined national interest. This occurs, not because Greeks have lapsed into some old nationalistic habits, similar to those raging in the Balkans. It is rather because Greece's European policy is defined in terms of both security and

economic interests. It is worth reminding that owing to the instability and insecurity of the region, Greece is obliged to place a disproportionate share of its national resources on national and collective security purposes. It is for this reason that Greece does not support the one-side character of the European Union and its exclusively economic orientation which today appears to be an enormous weakness in the process of further integration.

So while Greece is very clear in the European course it has undertaken, in order to pursue its national objectives more effectively and influence the further course of the Union, Greece has to strengthen its economy, meet the Maastricht criteria and be part of the monetary Union, which will allow it to be at the centre of the decision making procedures. Greece cannot afford to stay out of the EMU, given the size of its economy and the geographical position of its market.

Furthermore, Greece has to cultivate its strategic position in the Balkans in order to promote efficiently the accession of Bulgaria and Romania, and the approximation of the other Balkan countries to the European Union. It is undeniable that it is the European member state with the strongest interest in that.

In sum, it is conceivable that the future EU enlargement will increase the diversity of interests, of stages of development and perspectives. It is also probable that a multiple-speed Union will lead to the regionalisation of the EU. Already the geographic locations of North-Western Europe, Southern Europe, Central Europe, Northern Europe, Southeastern Europe face different problems and live under different economic and social conditions. Possibly a community of 25-30 member states will be much less coherent than the community which now exists, not to mention the original community. Conditions within the EU might lead to the forming of coalitions determined by national and regional interests. However, the EU system that reaches decisions through the European Council and the Council of Ministers has always resembled a subtle system of checks and balances, in which coalitions formed in certain issue areas are dissolved in others. It is, therefore in Greece's interest to use its negotiating experience in the complex web of the EU mechanisms to convince that it can combine effectively the European with the national interest, in order

to achieve the most favourable outcomes in the long and unpredictable process of European integration.

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Greece: the imperatives of geopolitics

ERIK GOLDSTEIN

Lying astride the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and Africa, Greece is geographically simultaneously European, Balkan, Near Eastern, and Mediterranean, while politically it has projected itself as a western European and even as a north Atlantic state. Its position has inevitably involved it with all the Great Powers, and all have interfered in Greek politics well within living memory.¹ Greece's foreign policy during the years of the Hellenic Republic has occasionally flirted with a variety of options, though in the end it has remained constant to its relationship with the western alliance. This reluctant adherence is due in large measure to the constraints placed upon Greece by its location on the world's geopolitical map. Its geographical position has proven to be one of the prime determinants of Greece's foreign policy since the Second World War, and at no time has this been more evident than in the years of the Hellenic Republic.

The question of Greece's geopolitical identity lies very much at the heart of the problem of its relations with the western powers. Why should Greece be identified, and identify itself, as a western state. There are both historic and contemporary reasons. Greece was adopted as a cultural ancestor by the West. A look around the monumental and civic architecture of any great western city is enough to confirm the western desire to establish links with the glory of ancient Greece, and modern Greece has made adroit use of this uninvited but nevertheless welcome adoption. Philhellenism was a potent force in the establishment of Greece's independence and has

1. Theodore Columbus, John Petropolis, and Harry Psomiades, eds., *Foreign Interference in Greek Politics — An Historical Perspective* (New York 1976). Theodore Columbus and John Iatrides, *Greek-American Relations: A Critical Review* (New York 1980).

done much to assist Greece over the years.² This phenomenon has more recently been augmented by the impact of the Hellenic diaspora which has become increasingly influential in the politics of the Western democracies. These factors give Greece far greater leverage with the West than it could ever hope to exert in other quarters. More recently the Cold War, in which Greece came to be aligned with the western Europe, also served to identify Greece with that region. Here diplomatic necessity built upon historic convenience.

Greece's diplomatic history can conveniently be divided into three periods. The first period lasted from independence in 1821 to the Asia Minor adventure of 1922. During this initial phase foreign policy was dominated by the pursuit of the *Megali Idea*, the creation of a Greater Greece. The second period commenced with the *katastrofi* in Asia Minor and ended with the greater tragedy of the Second World War. This was a time of consolidation for the Greek state, its frontiers were now established, with only the acquisition of the Dodecanese to come in 1947. For Greece's foreign policy the chief concern was survival in an increasingly unstable world, a world in which Greece had no firm allies. The third and current phase begins with the end of the Second World War. For Greece this was initially a period of recovery from war and civil war. While much emphasis was inevitably placed on internal reconstruction, there were also significant external concerns. In essence Greece's foreign policy was concerned with the search for external stabilisers. Given the result of the Civil War this made Greece look to the Western bloc for links which would help to underpin the state. Some of the concerns of earlier periods, however, can be discerned, like Banquo's ghost, still haunting foreign policy. Bits of the *Megali Idea* can be seen in the Cyprus question, while the memory of the lack of effective allies in the interwar period has made Greece particularly concerned to maintain its major alliances, no matter how irritating they are sometimes found to be.

2. William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Yet be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Oxford 1972). Erik Goldstein, 'The New Europe Group and the New Greece' in Philip Carabott, ed., *Greece and Europe in the Modern Period: Aspects of a Troubled Relationship* (London, 1995).

The Greek Civil War lies at the beginning of the current phase of Greece's foreign policy. Any analysis must keep in mind the appalling toll of war and civil war for Greece. For Greece the Second World War lasted longer than for any other European state, from the 1940 Italian attack and the subsequent German invasion and occupation in which 550,000 people died, 8% of the country's population, to a civil war in which a further 158,000 people perished. After nine years of conflict Greece was a country exhausted by war. The Civil War though was not a purely internal event, the conflict was internationalised by the involvement of all the postwar Great Powers. The Soviet Union through its Balkan allies backed the Greek communist side (KKE) in the civil war in order to secure its Balkan flank and to leave open the strategic sea lanes of the Aegean. Britain, as a Mediterranean power, intervened to support the Athens government in order to secure the strategic sea lanes to Suez and Asia. The United States after 1947 came to bolster and ultimately replace Britain as the backer of the Athens government as part of its wider efforts to contain Soviet power and to prevent Soviet influence spreading into the Eastern Mediterranean. The victory of the western backed forces in Greece decided Greece's subsequent diplomatic orientation.

The events of the Civil War determined where Greece would be on the postwar bipolar map of world power. First London, and then Washington, were the central actors in determining the outcome of the civil war, and Greece was inevitably caught up in their collective security arrangements. By a diplomatic leap of imagination Greece was integrated into their plans by making it in 1951 an honorary Atlantic state, as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).³ Greece's diplomacy therefore emphasised its western links, and it focused its foreign policy on identifying its interests with those of western Europe, rather than its Balkan or Eastern persona.

Greece's immediate postwar aims, given the political result of the Civil War were threefold. First was the need for immediate reconstruction of the country, from which it benefited from substantial

3. Protocol of accession of Greece and Turkey to NATO agreed at London, 17-22 Oct. 1951. Greece acceded to the North Atlantic Treaty, 18 Feb. 1952.

western aid. Second were its remaining territorial ambitions, i.e. Northern Epirus from Albania, Thracian claims against Bulgaria, Cyprus from Britain, and the Dodecanese from Italy. Its Balkan claims though were blocked by the Soviet Union, and Britain's role in the Civil War placed Cyprus far down the list until the 1950s, when it would once again emerge. Only over the Dodecanese did Greece succeed, though ironically sovereignty over these islands gave it a much more extensive frontier with Turkey, leading ultimately to greater friction. The third area of concern was the need for security guarantees and solid allies. This was a legacy of the interwar years in which Greece had stood alone and vulnerable in the vortex of European politics, which had sucked Greece into the cataclysm of the Second World War. Having linked itself to the West, Greece tied itself to the Western powers, joining NATO in 1952, providing the United States with military bases, and joining the European Economic Community (EEC, later EC, then EU) as an associate member in 1962 with the intention of ultimately qualifying for full membership. This latter decision would tie Greece to the economies of western Europe, placing it more firmly in that camp, while also assisting economic stability at home. As a result of these decisions, for much of the postwar period, the question of allies was resolved for Greece. Various crises though, in particular over Cyprus, would later call these assumptions into question.

Greece's political life from the end of the Civil War can be divided into four periods, (1) 1951-63, which saw the political right dominant in the wake of the civil war, with politics dominated by Alexandros Papagos and Konstantinos Karamanlis; (2) 1963-67, which saw great political volatility with the key figure being Georgios Papandreou; (3) 1967-74 during which Greece was under a military junta; and (4) 1974 to the present with the establishment of the Hellenic Republic, with the predominant figures being Karamanlis and Andreas Papanadreu. Despite the very great differences of Greek domestic political life in each of these phases, there is a notable consistency in foreign policy.

The first period of politically right-wing governments followed years of great political volatility. Sixteen governments held office during 1946-52, a dizzying revolving door which concerned Athens's

Great Power supporters. It was only when the United States ambassador intervened and used the threat of cutting aid to Greece that the electoral system was changed from proportional representation to simply majority voting in order to ensure firm government majorities.⁴ Stability in Greece was important to the United States, and it needed definite officials it could work with in government. Foreign policy for the western alliance and its relations with Greece were dominated by one international reality, the Cold War, in which Greece was a front-line state.

Greece though by the early- to mid-1950s was already beginning to utilise its multiple geographical identities to provide itself with greater room for manoeuvre. Greece's diplomacy has always had to operate on two levels, one concerned with Greece's place in wider Great Power rivalry, and the other coping with its immediate neighbours. The linkage between the two has often been difficult, when their interests are divergent. In the 1950s, however, some of its neighbours were equally concerned about the potential of a Soviet threat, in particular Yugoslavia and Turkey. Yugoslavia, led by Tito, though a communist state which had acted as a base for the KKE for much of the Greek civil war, had broken with Stalin and the Soviet bloc in 1948. Tito was now desperately looking for allies, any allies. The norm in Greek-Yugoslav (or previously Greek-Serb) relations has been one of friendship, and the civil war period was in many ways an aberration. A common fear of the Soviet threat, and of the local Soviet proxy, Bulgaria, with which both countries had a long history of disputes, helped to forge a new relationship in the Balkans. Ignoring ideology Papagos formed an alliance with Yugoslavia, the Balkan Pact, which was also joined by Turkey. This was the first but not the last time after the Second World War in which policy surmounted ideological preferences. It also briefly established Greece as the pivot of the region and gave it a leadership role in the western alliance.

Relations with Turkey are undoubtedly the most emotive for Greece, but good relations with Turkey had been the norm since at least 1930.

4. Richard Clogg, *Parties and Elections in Greece: the search for legitimacy* (London 1988).

The Treaty of Lausanne had removed most of the major issues between the two states, and the great Greek prime minister, Eleftherios Venizelos had even nominated Turkey's president Kemal Atatürk for the Nobel Peace Prize. The common Soviet threat was enough to overcome Greek-Yugoslav ideological differences and Greek-Turkish historical suspicion. The 1954 Balkan Pact envisaged a Greek-Turkish-Yugoslav general staff and a permanent council. Two factors served to disrupt the new coalition. The first was Stalin's death, which altered the nature of Soviet policy and saw a Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement. The second was the beginning of the Cyprus crisis.

Cyprus, a British crown colony, was important to Britain's eastern Mediterranean and Middle Eastern strategic concerns. Papagos, somewhat reluctantly, raised the issue in the light of growing pressure for union (*enosis*) with Greece on the part of the island's Greek inhabitants. The matter was raised in the United Nations, allowing Papagos to look as if the matter was being dealt with, without applying any real pressure on an important ally. The Suez Crisis of 1956 though altered Britain's role in the region, and it gave up dreams of an informal British bloc of states. Britain now became far less interested in the control of Cyprus, and Papagos's successor, Karamanlis, now moved cautiously towards a solution of the issue. However much Greece might have liked to achieve one last bit of the *Megali Idea*, Cyprus lay at the centre of too many inter-locking problems. If it had acquired Cyprus, the ramifications for Greece would have been critical, shifting its geographic concerns far to the east, a development which would probably have been more than its fragile power could handle. Given Turkey's opposition to *enosis*, any attempt to achieve this goal would fissure the eastern flank of the NATO alliance. Greece's immediate concerns were caught up with the western alliance, not the fate of Cyprus. Greece therefore accepted an independent Cyprus, with a communal power sharing constitution, and with Britain retaining two extensive sovereign bases on the island. The Cyprus settlement was negotiated bilaterally between Greece and Turkey at Zürich, and presented as a *fait accompli* to Britain and the Cypriots. It indicates the occasional efficacy in relations between Athens and Ankara. The Zürich agreement was the diplomatic highlight of this early phase of Karamanlis's career. Its collapse in 1974 would be the catalyst for his return to power.

The right-wing junta of the colonels which ruled Greece from 1967-74 maintained a firm adherence to the western alliance. They obtained acquiescence of their rule from their alliance partners by sticking to Greece's international commitments. While the nature of the regime was undoubtedly clear to its democratic partners, the western alliance had wider worries. Indeed, once in power, Washington treated the junta with increasing favour. Regional concerns had once again made Greece a vital ally. There was a general sense of a new Soviet offensive with its build-up of naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. This, together with two wars in the Middle East in 1967 and 1973, made Greece a vital component in America's regional planning. Greece was well poised to help the forward projection of United States power in the Middle East, for example during the 1973 October War between Egypt and Israel. President Nixon went so far as to state publicly that America's ability to defend Israel rested on friendly relations with Greece, though ironically Greece did not recognise Israel at the time. Nixon even used the Hellenic diaspora factor in reverse by shipping off his vice-president, Spyro Agnew, to Greece on a goodwill mission. This was a period in which the United States was distracted by the Vietnam War, and while it focused on that crisis it needed allies to support it in dealing with other regional crises which occurred, and actively courted willing states. The western alliance was willing to turn a blind eye to an unsavoury regime in Athens in return for a much needed ally.

The junta, however, maintained the usual secondary policy of looking for possible regional allies. This rightwing junta re-established diplomatic relations with the extreme marxist regime in Albania. The Romania President Ceaucescu, nominally a Soviet ally, was the only head of state to dignify Athens with a visit during the junta, though in retrospect one sees certain similarities between the regimes. The junta, in presentation was ideologically very rightwing, but was nevertheless willing to look to all states regardless of ideology if it enhanced their position.

The junta was struggling with mounting problems. Greece's economy was beginning to collapse with spiralling inflation and the impact of massively increased energy costs in the wake of the October War

and the increase in oil price by Middle East oil states. This led the junta to the usual last resort of a regime attempting to revive its popularity, a foreign adventure. In the Spring of 1974 the junta, playing on the legacy of the *Megali Idea*, conspired with pro-*enosis* forces on Cyprus to attempt union with Greece. The operation was a disaster, with Turkey blocking the attempt and occupying the northern part of the island. A real threat of a Greek-Turkish War ensued. The junta must have hoped that its western allies, especially the United States and Britain, would bail them out if all went wrong. This was after all what Athens hoped such relations were for. The timing of their actions, however, was taken without attention to the political problems in Washington and London. The American president, Richard Nixon, was in the last throes of the Watergate crisis which would bring about his resignation in August 1974. The American government was entirely consumed by this unprecedented domestic, political crisis. Britain, although a guarantor of the Zürich Agreement on Cyprus, was in the midst of a year of political turmoil, with two general elections. The result was that the presumption of Great Power intervention in the region in support of Greek interests proved false.

The Cyprus crisis was the death knell for the junta, and in the early morning hours of 24 July 1974 Karamanlis returned from self-imposed exile to establish a new, democratic Greece. On his dramatic return to power after the fall of the dictatorship he was faced with many problems, mostly domestic. Karamanlis had also, however, to restore Greece's diplomatic position.⁵ As dawn broke over the Hellenic Republic a major reappraisal of Greece's foreign policy was begun. Karamanlis was in many respects the determining figure of postwar Greece's foreign policy. Throughout his career he had firmly supported the Western option for Greece, and remained consistent in this. During the 1977 general election he frequently reiterated the slogan, 'Greece belongs to the West'. He wanted, however, to open further options for Greece, so that it was not dangerously dependent on the United States, should American regional interests shift. The twin pillars of

5. Van Coufoudakis, 'Greek Foreign Policy Since 1974: The Quest for Independence'. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 6:1 (1988) 55-79.

his policy were continued Greek membership of NATO and membership of the European Community (EC), a process begun in 1962 when during an earlier spell in office he had negotiated Greece's initial treaty with the community. Now he restarted the process of accession which was accomplished in 1979 with Greece becoming the 10th state to join the EC, with full membership from 1981. Membership of the EC opened further Western, non-American, options for Greece. The EC of the 1970s was a very western European organisation, and this policy reaffirmed efforts to identify Greece, in a divided Europe, with Western Europe.

Karamanlis had also to cope with popular dissatisfaction with the United States. One issue which aroused popular passion was the future of the United States bases. As one diplomat involved in the negotiations on this issue observed,

... the negotiations were seen by many as a kind of morality play, an allegory of U.S.-Greek relations, a litmus test of Greek independence from the United States, a final assertion of Greek sovereignty over American patronage and support that, of course, had enabled Greece to survive both civil war and postwar deprivation.⁶

The popular, emotional reaction to the American alliance was a significant factor in the calculations of all governments. This popular feeling though should be understood against the historical backdrop of a century and a half of Great Power involvement and interference in Greece, of which the United States was for many simply the latest incarnation. Notably, no Greek government actually sought to end the alliance, though all had to make some gestures reaffirming Greece's independence to assuage a significant sector of the population.

Karamanlis while applying pressure to NATO to show that Greece's membership could not be taken for granted, symbolically demonstrated by its temporary departure on 14 August 1974 from the integrated command structure, kept Greece firmly within the NATO alliance. Membership of both western organisations, NATO and the European Community, were seen as essential to providing Greece with external

6. Milton Kovner, 'Case: The 1981 Greek Base Negotiations', Robert Miller, ed., *Inside an Embassy: the political role of diplomats abroad* (Washington 1992).

stabilisers in terms of security and economics which would in turn underpin domestic political stability, particularly in the critical years of the re-establishment of democratic government.

In 1981 Andreas Papandreou came to power at the head of a party, or as he preferred, movement, with a history of anti-NATO and anti-EC activity.⁷ Papandreou and his supporters founded PASOK (The Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement) in 1974, which in its early days advocated a series of radical policies. What they proposed in foreign policy was nothing less than a reorientation away from the West, a reversal of the consistent trend since national independence. In his speech to the inaugural conference of PASOK Papandreou argued that Greece should, 'disengage itself from military, political, and economic organisation which undermine our national independence'. He went on to state that, 'It has become clear that popular sovereignty cannot be conceived outside the realm of national independence. This is why Greece's disengagement from NATO and the U.S. . . . constitutes the first and immediate aim of our movement. Our national independence is the precondition for popular sovereignty'.⁸ When Greece joined the EC on 5 January 1981 Papandreou refused to attend the accession ceremony.

In the heady days following the collapse of the junta PASOK envisaged a general reorientation of Greece, internally and externally. Domestic electoral results, however, soon led to quiet modifications of policy. The 1974 election results gave PASOK only 13% of the vote. This helped lead to a change of policy prior to the 1977 election, with PASOK now calling for only a gradual removal of American bases. On this occasion PASOK garnered 25% of the vote. By the 1981 election the demands for withdrawal from the European Community had disappeared, and the removal of the American bases was now only a longterm goal. Electoral victory was now achieved with a 48% plurality. PASOK's 1981 electoral victory was undoubtedly due primarily to domestic issues, but a moderate stance on foreign policy undoubtedly reassured some critical swing groups in the electorate.

7. Theodore Columbus, 'PASOK's foreign policies, 1981-89: continuity or change' in Richard Clogg, ed., *Greece, 1981-89: The Populist Decade* (London 1993).

8. Quoted in John Loulis, 'Papandreou's Foreign Policy', *Foreign Affairs* 63:2 (1984) 375-91.

Once in power Papandreou far from closing the American bases rapidly negotiated an agreement for their renewal, which was formally concluded in 1983. What were the reasons behind this seeming reversal? Once in power Papandreou was faced with sound military-diplomatic reasons for continuing the Western option. The United States presence in Greece was, after all, due not to any desire to dominate Greece, but was related to American security concerns about its own prime adversary, the Soviet Union. If denied access to Greece the United States would still require similar facilities in the region, and the obvious alternative location would be Turkey. As Turkey was viewed by Greece as one of its chief threats such a development would be unsatisfactory. Such a move would have enhanced Turkish military capabilities, while simultaneously throwing an intolerable burden upon the fragile Greek economy. The result was a compromise with the West.

Papandreou's attitude towards the United States had undergone a shift after his father's death, in the wake of the colonels' coup. It is possible that Papandreou blamed the United States for contributing to his father's death through what he believed to be its support for the colonels. Certainly the tenor of Papandreou's views of the United States shifted after his father's death, though he proved to be a skillful negotiator with the United States. He was after all for much of his life an American citizen, served in the United States Navy, was educated at an American university, and taught at American institutions. He possessed a grasp of the American system and mind in a way few foreign leaders could ever hope to achieve. By identifying Greece's basic need for security support, and by applying appropriate pressure, Papandreou reaped a tangible reward in an agreement which gave Greece not only increased control of the bases, but significantly increased military aid. By 1985 Greece was scheduled to become the fifth largest recipient of United States military assistance, with \$500 million, with only Israel receiving more aid on a per capita basis.⁹

Greece under Papandreou made attempts to improve relations with

9. Richard Haass, *The United States and Greece*, US Department of State, Current Policy No. 661, 8 Feb. 1985.

the Eastern bloc. Greece was the only NATO or European Community state not to stridently condemn the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981, and Papandreou made a highly controversial trip to Poland in 1984 to affirm this. In February 1985 he emphasised his independent ideas with a trip to the Soviet Union. In 1985 the border with Albania was opened for the first time since 1940, and Greece renounced claims to Northern Epirus. Greece also maintained good relations with some of the more radical Middle East movements, thereby hinting at other possible shifts of direction. Through PASOK Papandreou maintained links with Arab socialist parties. In 1985 Papandreou visited Libya and agreed a \$1 billion economic accord with Colonel Qaddafi. Papandreou later condemned the 1986 United States raid on Libya and refused to implement the EC agreed sanction on that country. Similarly in 1986 he refused to impose EC agreed sanctions against Syria, which was accused of state sponsored terrorism. Papandreou presented the interesting sight of a leader of a NATO state seeking to play a role in the non-aligned movement. Before these new orientations could be fully explored Papandreou in 1989 lost office, just as the Cold War was about to end.

The end of the Cold War brought a seismic shift in the international system, a change which seemingly went unnoticed for some time in Athens. This was in part due to the domestic political crisis in Greece between 1989 and 1990, which saw the resignation of Papandreou and a series of transitory governments. While Greece was going through *katharsis* the international situation was undergoing its own transformation. The end of the Cold War, and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union, disrupted the diplomatic presumptions of Athens. In 1990 Presidents Bush and Gorbachev declared the Cold War a thing of the past. Within weeks the Gulf War began, a war in which Turkey was a vital ally of the American-led coalition. The simultaneous end of the Cold War and the Gulf crisis served to diminish Greece's importance while Turkey's increased. Greece was no longer a vital alliance partner for the West.¹⁰

10. Spyros Economides, 'Greece and the New Europe in the 1990s' in Philip Carabott, ed., *Greece and Europe in the Modern Period: Aspects of a Troubled Relationship* (London 1995).

The altered situation for Greece became evident, when the United States unilaterally decided to wind down its military presence in Greece, as part of its 'peace dividend' review of bases globally. A changed international situation, combined with new technologies, made the bases in Greece redundant. The 1983 bases agreement with the United States had expired in 1988, and was extended every six months as neither side could agree new terms. As a result Greece, presuming the United States would ultimately out of necessity accept terms favourable to Greece, had created a situation in which the United States could, at short notice, end its presence in Greece, and with it the security benefits which Greece received from such an arrangement. On the eve of the Gulf War the new treaty was finally agreed by the New Democracy government of Konstantinos Mitsotakis. By its terms the United States would keep two bases on Crete, one at Hellenikon, and the other a naval communications facility at Nea Makri. Greece would continue to receive \$345 million per year in defence aid. The United States though had left mainland Greece, and this agreement expires in 1998. Because of the problems with Iraq the United States retains a significant position in Turkey. Greece now has little to offer its Cold War allies, and the legacy of being a difficult partner will not assist future moves. The Mitsotakis government was aware of the danger of isolation, reaffirming Greece's commitment to the West, providing forces for the Gulf War in 1990-91, and joining the Western European Union in 1992.

The danger of isolation can be seen in the lack of support it received when it opted to make an issue of the name and flag of the newly independent former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). In 1992 Greece vetoed the EC's move to recognise this state. Most of its EC and NATO partners found Greece's actions unreasonable, though it was popular domestically. The diplomatic result was that all Greece's EC partners recognised FYROM in late 1993, with the United States following in early 1994, despite strenuous Greek opposition. This action should have served to warn Greece of the altered international situation. Greece continued to act as if it was a frontline state of the western alliance, and to use the leveraging tactics that had served it so well in pre-1990 international relations. A policy of tough stands rather than conciliatory diplomacy ceases to be efficacious when you have little to offer.

The slowness with which Greece adapted to the new situation, in startling contradistinction to Turkey, was probably due to the return to office in October 1993 of the ailing Papandreou. He continued to act in ways which had served him well in the past, and his last period in office was a hiatus in the development of Greece's foreign policy. Papandreou continued to flirt with more radical movements, to the dismay of Greece's western allies. Greece's links with Syria were viewed with suspicion by the United States, which suspected the Syrian government of supporting terrorist activity. Playing on Greece's Middle Eastern identity at such a time was potentially a dangerous ploy. Greece also maintained its Russian options. It is notable that one of Yeltsin's first visits to a NATO state was to Greece, and it is no accident that the Russo-EU partnership and cooperation agreement was concluded at the June 1994 Corfu EU summit during the Greek presidency.¹¹

With the departure of Karamanlis from political life in 1995 and the death of Papandreou in 1996 the Hellenic Republic entered on its second phase, a post-charismatic as well as a post-Cold War era.¹² The foundations built in the early years of the republic do provide a sound basis for Greece's external requirements. The chief security issues concerning Greece in this current period are its relations with Turkey, the issue of Cyprus, and the volatility of the Balkans in the wake of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the upheavals in Albania.

Papandreou's successor was Konstantinos Simitis, an anti-Papandreou figure in PASOK. He seems to have embarked on a more moderate course, attempting to establish Greece as a more co-operative partner. Within days of taking office he was faced with a territorial dispute with Turkey over the barren and uninhabited islet of Imia/Kardak which almost resulted in military confrontation.¹³ Although at the time it looked as if Greece was continuing a policy

11. The agreement came into effect in February 1996.

12. Karamanlis retired from office in March 1995. Papandreou resigned as prime minister 15 Jan. 1996, and died on 23 June 1996.

13. The dispute has wider implications. Under the 1994 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, Greece could extend its territorial waters from 6 to 12 nautical miles. This would effectively turn most of the Aegean into a Greek sea, and Turkey had warned that if Greece exercised this option it would be viewed as an act of aggression. Imia/Kardak is important in how territorial waters might be defined.

of noisy sabre-rattling, Simitis used Greece's diplomatic leverage as a member of the EU to end the crisis. This suggests a return to the more adroit statecraft of the Karamanlis period. In this crisis, Greece, though militarily weaker, proved to be diplomatically stronger. Using its membership of the EU it blocked in March 1996 \$480 million in EU aid to Turkey intended to facilitate a customs union, and a further \$940 million from the European Investment Bank. Turkey therefore signalled its willingness to seek peaceful solutions and an agreement was reached in July 1997 to resolve disputes peacefully, and to recognise each others' rights in the Aegean. This latter commitment involved compromise on both sides and suggested the beginning of a new, more conciliatory approach in foreign policy.

Greece has used its membership of the European Union (EU) to push for accession negotiations with Cyprus in 1998, as a *quid pro quo* for not blocking the EU-Turkey customs union. The Cyprus situation threatened to escalate in January 1997 when the Cyprus government announced that it planned to purchase Russian S-300 surface-to-air missiles. This would probably overturn Turkish air superiority on the island, and with a range of 140 km could threaten Turkey itself. Simitis notably preferred to talk of stability and did not join in the hawkish pronouncement of some of his colleagues.

Greece has also begun to utilise more freely the multiple dimensions of its geographical identity. It has revived its role as a Balkan state, something last seriously attempted in the 1950s. It is acting as the active supporter of Bulgaria and Romania entering both the EU and NATO, and it is proposing regional cooperation with a headquarters in Athens. Rather than rejecting these organisations Greece is attempting to build a sympathetic faction within them. During the Yugoslav conflict Greece has maintained good relations with a generally ostracised Belgrade, renewing a historic norm. In this instance it finds itself following a line similar to Russia, opening new possibilities. Greece is no longer an isolated outlier of the western alliance, and it is inevitable that it will begin to reposition itself in line with eastern expansion of both NATO and the EU.

The reduction of the United States as a factor has served to enhance the importance of the EU. The development of the EU is now more important than ever for Greece, and Greece's reliance upon EU aid

has been significant, in 1994 alone it amounted to 6% of GDP. The EU, however, also lies at the cornerstone of Greece's European political identity. Greece unfortunately is often viewed by other EU members as one of the 'bad boys' of the EU, as was Britain during the Thatcher and Major periods. The 1997 change of government in Britain has made Greece the most disruptive state in EU politics. The Simitis government, however, is attempting to moderate this view, and its decision in March 1998 to enter the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in the hope of qualifying for membership of the European Monetary Union (EMU) is part of this general shift. Greece though has a substantial legacy of un-cooperative behaviour to overcome, and this will help to keep Greece at the periphery of the EU for some time.

Greece is now not caught in the vortex of Great Power politics, but rather suffers from lying at the centre of a Great Power vacuum. Without Great Powers to play off against one another, and therefore to bid for Greece's support, Greece could find itself exposed in any new regional power alignments. Membership of NATO and the EU may not have been ideal for Greece, and the memory of disappointed hopes for support from its western friends may have undoubtedly tarnished some of these links, but the diplomatic reality is that every alliance gives some measure of leverage to the partners. Greece is able to sit at the table with the great military and economic powers of the West and exert influence on them in a way which would not be available if it altered its primary orientation. Some small shifts in Greece's foreign policy are inevitable to match changing circumstances, but Greece's options are limited. The imperatives of its own geopolitics now require Greece to continue to adhere to the western alliance, just as once the western alliance required Greece.

*Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies,
University of Birmingham*

In the depths of tenth-century Byzantine ceremonial: the treatment of Arab prisoners of war at imperial banquets

LILIANA SIMEONOVA

Modern studies dedicated to the semantics of Byzantine ceremonies seem to agree on at least two points: (a) that the Byzantines had an elaborate ceremonial for every possible occasion and (b) that even the tiniest element of this ceremonial was loaded with multiple layers of meaning. Whether it took place in the streets of Constantinople, in the Hippodrome, in the *Forum* of Constantine or at various places in the palace, this lavish ceremonial always pursued the same ultimate goal: to impress, and intimidate, both the capital's citizenry and the visitors. The Byzantine ceremonial invariably had a religious dimension to it, which was to make everybody — Christian, pagan, and infidel alike — believe in the eternal glory and splendour of the Empire of New Rome. Sometimes, the observer was supposed to get this idea through watching, or partaking of, ceremonies that represented a magnificent blend of acclamations, music, light, colourful costumes, meaningful gestures and ample decoration. On other occasions, the same idea was propagated through the public humiliation of captured domestic rebels, high-ranking foreign captives, or other rulers' diplomatic agents; to make the picture complete, the act of humiliation could be extended to include a possible ill-treatment of the foreigners' servants and horses. Whether openly manifested or buried in subtle gestures, flattery and ridicule often went hand-in-hand in the language of Byzantine ceremonies. While foreigners may not have always been able to understand what was going on, no variation in the ceremonial could ever escape the sharp eye of the Byzantine courtier, to whom being in tune with the slightest change in the prevalent mood was simply a question of survival.

It was only natural for high-ranking foreign visitors, or heirs to

foreign rulers who were held as hostages in Constantinople, to be invited to partake of the celebration of various holidays. The late ninth-century Byzantine ceremonial, however, makes provisions for the inclusion of foreign captives, namely Muslim prisoners of war, in at least two of the major ceremonies that took place in the capital. When, and why, Arab prisoners of war began to be invited to the regular Christmas Day and Easter Sunday imperial banquets is not mentioned by the Byzantine authors. Probably, this practice was established under Leo VI (886-912) and might have survived at least up to a certain point during his son's reign. Whatever the reason for this particular innovation, it seems to have been Leo's positive attitude toward the Muslims that altogether marked a turning point in the Byzantine treatment of Arab prisoners.

The previous three decades bore witness to a harsher treatment of Muslim captives.¹ The first Byzantine successes and bold advances on sea and land, which began as early as 856, may have brought little concrete advantage to the empire.² What they immediately brought, however, was great numbers of Arab prisoners. In fact, prisoner-exchanges between the Byzantines and the Arabs had begun as early as 845, according to Ya'qubi and Mas'udi, or 846, according to Tabari; by 855-856 the exchange of POWs seemed to have become a regular practice, which followed in the wake of every campaign. In other words, by the middle of the ninth century, the Byzantines had already begun to treat their Arab prisoners in a somewhat more humane, or at least non-homicidal, fashion. As could be seen from the surviving Arab accounts, among the prisoners there were women and children, too.³

1. The emperor Theophilos (829-842) is said to have been quite friendly with Muslim ambassadors visiting his court. Modern scholars attribute this to the emperor's admiration for Arab learning and art: see the dissertation thesis of N.M. El Cheikh-Saliba, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Harvard University 1992), 179-180. However, there is no evidence that Theophilos showed any lenience in his treatment of Muslim POWs; in fact, it seems that there were no prisoner-exchanges at that time.

2. Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, NJ 1969), 227 and nn. 1-4. According to Ostrogorsky, it was only after the victory of 863 that the tide turned and there began an era of Byzantine attack in Asia. Regrettably, S. Patoura's book on Byzantium and the Arabs remained inaccessible to me.

3. A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I (Bruxelles 1935), 222-240, 275-277, 310-311, 320-321, 336-337.

At the same time, however, the successes of the imperial armies boosted the battle spirit of the Byzantines, which led to certain atrocities in the treatment of Muslim captives. Thus, in 863, the Byzantine army led by the emperor's uncle, Petronas, achieved a great and decisive victory over the Arab forces.⁴ Later in the same year, the theme commanders celebrated a splendid triumphal entry into the capital. The head of a captured Arab emir was exposed to public ridicule in a city square in Constantinople. This was probably done on the initiative of the Byzantine military but, in any event, Emperor Michael III (842-867) did nothing to stop them.⁵ Leo's father, Basil I (867-886), was also known for his cruel treatment of Muslim prisoners. An anonymous Byzantine chronicler, who paints an altogether idealised portrait of the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, says that the Muslims, who were taken prisoner during the Cretan campaign of 866 and refused baptism, were tortured to death by order of Basil.⁶ Basil was not emperor at that time; unfortunately, there is no evidence showing how he treated Muslim captives after his ascent to power.

The above-mentioned facts suggest that under Michael III, and possibly under Basil I too, there was a certain ambivalence in the way Byzantines treated their Muslim prisoners: on one hand, there was the imperial government's willingness to go for prisoner-exchanges rather, than have the prisoners killed; on the other hand, the Byzantine military continued to capitalise on their victories over the Muslims by occasionally being 'tough' on the POWs, and the government did nothing to stop them.

That the radical change in the treatment of Arab POWs may have occurred under Leo VI could be seen from what Leo himself has to say about Arab customs and warfare,⁷ and from the so-called

4. Cf. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, I, 249-256.

5. Georgii Hamartoli *Continuatus*, ed. E. Murlat (St. Petersburg 1859), 734. Cf. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and Early Medieval West* (Cambridge-London-New York 1986), 150-151.

6. Theoph. Cont., *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838), 300-301.

7. Leo, *Tactica*, caps. 123 ff., (Migne, *PG* 107, cols. 976-980). This military treatise was probably compiled not long after the capture of Thessalonika by an Arab fleet (904). Cf. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London-New York-Toronto 1973), 382 sqq.

Kletorologion of Philotheos.⁸ Both documents treat Arabs with a degree of deference and respect, which cannot be found in earlier Byzantine writings.

Philotheos, who wisely dedicated his work to his sovereign, describes himself as an 'imperial *protospatharios* and *atriklines*'. The duty of the *atriklinai* was to conduct the ceremonial of the imperial banquets, to receive the guests and arrange them in order of precedence; in order to fulfill this duty, the *atriklines* needed a list of all the officials and dignitaries, arranged in order of precedence; this list was called a *kletorologion*.⁹ That periodic changes were made in the *kletorologia* is clear from the comparison between the above-mentioned one, written by Philotheos, and an earlier one, known as the *Taktikon Uspenski*, which was compiled in the 830s, or 840s.¹⁰ While the *Taktikon Uspenski* makes no provisions for Arab delegations to be entertained at the palace, Philotheos places the 'Agarene friends' even higher than the 'friends' from Christian countries, such as Bulgaria and Francia. Furthermore, he makes provisions for Arab POWs to attend the imperial banquets twice a year, and gives detailed instructions as to who should supervise the Arabs, where they should be sitting during the banquets, and — last but not least — what costume should the palace provide for them.

Some forty five or fifty years later, when Leo's son, Constantine VII (913-959), compiled his *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, he dutifully incorporated Philotheos's work in this ceremonial handbook of his. Was Constantine simply trying to revive an extinct practice,

8. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos was compiled several years earlier, in September 899. The best known editions of this text are: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo*, ed. I. Reiske, I (Bonn 1829), 702-798; Migne, PG 112 (Paris 1897), cols. 1291-1434; J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century. With a Revised Text of the Kletorologion of Philotheos* (London 1911; repr.: New York 1958), 131-179; N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris 1972), 81-235.

9. Bury, *op. cit.*, 11-12; Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 27-28.

10. Bury, *op. cit.*, 12-13. Cf. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Taktikon Uspenskog i Taktikon Beneševića', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, II (1953), 39 ff. and Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 45-47, who suggest 842/843 as a possible date of compilation of the *Taktikon Uspenski*.

or, were Muslim prisoners still being entertained at the palace?¹¹ The so-called *Taktikon Benešević*¹² could have proved whether, in the 930s and 940s, Arab POWs were invited to the imperial banquets, or not: unfortunately, the part describing the Christmas and Easter banquets is missing in the surviving text. The same could be said about another *taktikon*, the so-called *Escorial*, which was probably compiled in the 970s; in this case, only the beginning of the description of the Easter Day banquet has come down to us.¹³

While it seems relatively easy to establish approximately when Arab prisoners began to be invited to the imperial banquets, it is not so easy to find out why these people had to be invited in the first place. As Toynbee points out, Leo's military treatise *Taktika* reveals the 'paramount feeling of respect', which he must have had for his Muslim adversaries.¹⁴ Leo VI describes the Arabs as a formidable enemy: in his judgment, the Arabs have adopted Roman weapons and often copy the Roman tactics; they excel all foreign nations in intelligence and conduct of military operations; being fully aware of the importance, which Arabs attach to their horses, the emperor advises the Romans to disable the Arabs' horses by shooting them with poisonous arrows.

But was it only this 'paramount feeling of respect' for the Arabs that made Leo VI invite Muslim POWs to his banquets? Leo seems to have written his *Taktika* not long after the Byzantines had suffered a considerable setback in their wars against the Muslims: in 904, an Arab fleet captured the empire's second largest city, Thessalonika. Philotheos, on the other hand, compiled his guidebook on palace

11. There has been a long-lasting discussion among scholars whether the *Book of Ceremonies* presents an accurate account, or an idealised picture, of the Byzantine court ceremonial. Cf. M. McCormick, 'Analysing Imperial Ceremonies', in *JÖB* 35 (1985), 1-10.

12. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 240-243: the suggested date for the compilation of this *taktikon* is 934/944. Cf. *ibid.*, 243-253.

13. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 252-277: the suggested date of compilation is 971/975. Cf. *idem*, 'Un *taktikon* inédit du Xe siècle. Cod. Scorial. gr. R-II-11', in N. Oikonomidès, *Documents et études sur les institutions de Byzance (VIIe-XVe s.)* (Variorum Reprints: London 1976), no. X.

14. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London-New York-Toronto 1973), 382-383.

receptions five years earlier, in a period when the Byzantines could afford to show some leniency in their treatment of Arab prisoners. At that time, Emperor Leo had managed to establish Byzantine power firmly in South Italy by the formation of the theme of Longibardia (892) and was just about to push the imperial authority eastward by the foundation of the province of Mesopotamia (900).¹⁵ Whether past or pending, the military victories over the Saracens may have boosted Leo's confidence in his own power which, in turn, explains why he may have decided to display a certain amount of largesse in his dealings with them. The emperor's benevolent attitude toward the Muslim captives naturally found reflection in the imperial ceremonial and, hence, in the list compiled by the *atriklines*, Philotheos.

Be that as it may, by the year 899, Arab POWs were regularly invited to the Christmas Day and Easter Sunday imperial banquets. Even if this practice was temporarily suspended after the tragedy of 904, it must have been resumed shortly afterwards for there is evidence coming from early tenth-century Arab sources showing that, at that time, Muslim prisoners were invited to the imperial banquets.¹⁶ In Constantine VII's day, Muslim POWs were also invited to the banquets that followed the diplomatic receptions given in honour of Muslim envoys.

Before we consider the details of the Muslim prisoners' treatment at the imperial Christmas and Easter banquets, we need to take a look at the general rules prescribed by Philotheos for the reception of Muslim 'friends', i.e., Arab embassies on a mission to Constantinople. Sections II and III of the *Kletorologion* contain lists of the officials in the order in which they are introduced by the *atriklines*. As could be expected, this order is a reflection of the hierarchy of the existing ranks. Section II deals with the highest ranks while Section III deals with the lower ones, beginning with the *protospatharioi*.

15. See R.J.H. Jenkins, *Byzantium. The Imperial Centuries, AD 610-1071* (London 1966), 198-211. See also the summary of the Byzantine-Arab naval rivalry in the period between the 850s and the 960s in Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 342-345.

16. This evidence comes from the work of Ibn Rosteh, who tells the story of Harun-ibn-Yahya's captivity in Constantinople; modern scholars have dated ibn-Yahya's captivity anywhere between the years 880/890 and 912/913. Cf. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, II (Bruxelles 1950), 380-382, 388-389.

As an appendix to Section III, there are instructions as to how certain high-ranking foreign guests should be treated. Ecclesiastical dignitaries rank highest, and the representatives of Rome have precedence over the *synkelloi* of Antioch and Jerusalem.¹⁷ They are followed by 'the Agarene friends', whose rank equals that of the *patrikioi* and *strategoï*. The Eastern Agarenes, however, have precedence over the Western ones.¹⁸ The Muslims are followed by 'the Bulgarian friends', who receive almost identical honours.¹⁹ They, in turn, are followed by 'the embassies from the Franks'; if these are clergy, they belong to the same class of dignitaries, that is, the *patrikioi* and *strategoï*; if these are lay persons, then they belong to the lower class of the *offikialioi*.²⁰ At the bottom of the list are 'the friends coming from other nations'; they are assimilated to the class of *spatharokandidatoi*, which is one of the modest ranks in the Byzantine hierarchy.²¹

While the honourable position assigned to the Bulgarian delegation was obviously the result of the recently concluded peace between Byzantium and Bulgaria (896),²² the honours paid to the Muslim ambassadors were probably a reflection of Leo's effort to appease both the Western and Eastern Muslims, as they were Byzantium's neighbours in Italy and the Middle East. The fact that Muslims rank second only to the ecclesiastical delegations dispatched by Rome,

17. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 163.6-13.

18. *Ibid.*, 163.14-17.

19. *Ibid.*, 163.18-165.4: similarly to the Arab 'friends', the Bulgarians are assigned the rank of *patrikioi* and *strategoï*.

20. *Ibid.*, 165.5-7: *εἰ δὲ παγανοί εἰσιν* in the Greek original should probably be translated as 'if these are lay persons' rather, than 'if these are pagans'.

21. *Ibid.*, 165.8-9.

22. The Byzantine-Bulgarian war of 894-896 had ended with a defeat for Byzantium: see Ostrogorsky, *History*, 256-257. As a result, at the end of the century, the Bulgarian delegations visiting Constantinople enjoyed certain privileges, which gave them precedence over the delegations from other Christian nations: see above, nn. 20, 21. The peace treaty of 927 contained a similar clause: at the palace, the Bulgarian 'friend' ranked as *patrikios* and was given precedence over the 'guests' from Francia. This rule was still in force some forty years later: in 968, during the banquet celebrating the Feast of the Holy Apostles, the ambassador of Otto I, Liudprand, made a fuss about it. See Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, cap. XIX, in *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit. Widukinds Sachsen-geschichte, Adalberts Fortsetzung der Chronik Reginos, Liudprands Werke*, ed. A. Bauer and R. Rau (Darmstadt 1971), 532.5-25.

Antioch and Jerusalem implies that, under Leo, the imperial government assigned exceptional importance to its dealings with the Arabs. As we will see, at the Christmas and Easter banquets, Arabs and Bulgarians appear next to each other once again, this time at a lower level: Muslim POWs are seated next to the 'men of the Bulgarians', that is, the low-ranking members of the delegation led by the two important 'Bulgarian friends'.

The court ceremonies celebrated on various religious holidays are discussed in Section IV of the *Kletorologion*. The section begins with detailed instructions as to how the Christmas Day banquet should be organised and carried out. It took place in the so-called *Triklinos of the Nineteen Couches*. The dignitaries of the highest ranks wearing *chlamydes* and the ones of the lower ranks wearing *skaramangia* were stationed each in the place where their rank as well as the colour and cut of their dress required them to be.

There seemed to be no high-ranking Muslim 'friends' at the annual Christmas banquets, which is understandable: no Muslim court would dispatch an embassy whose purpose would be to take part in the celebration of a Christian holiday. There seem to have been no Frankish delegations, either: being too far away, the Eastern and Western Frankish courts may have seen it as economically unfeasible to sponsor embassies whose single task would be to participate in Byzantine banquets. The Bulgarian 'friends', however, were invariably there. They were to be showed in immediately after the representatives of the Great Church and the imperial *synkletikoi*, whose number totalled twelve. As Philotheos says, to the most honoured dinner of the *Nineteen Couches* you must invite two *magistroi*, six *anthypatoi*, *patrikioi* and *strategoi*, two 'Bulgarian friends', and two officials of the rank *τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ λογοθέτου* or of a lower rank, altogether twelve friends who must surround the emperor after the fashion of the Twelve Apostles. This category of 'friends' wore *chlamydes*, with clasps in the front, and had *kampagia* on their feet.²³

23. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance*, 167.10-18. Oikonomidès suggests that the *kampagia* mentioned in the text were some type of specially decorated sandals, which were worn by the military in the Late Roman empire and which, in early Byzantium, were worn by the highest-ranking dignitaries; in the ninth century, this type of sandals were worn by most of the dignitaries. See *ibid.*, 167, n. 145.

They were followed by a horde of officials of lower ranks, from the imperial notaries down to the bearers of the imperial sceptres, whose number totalled one hundred and sixty eight, that is, fourteen times twelve.²⁴ Once these people were ushered in and seated at the right places, another group of people were let in. These were: twenty four, i.e., two times twelve, Agarenes from the *Praetorium*; twelve 'men of the Bulgarian friends'; and some 'poor brothers' whose number was also twelve. The Arabs were to be seated at the sixth and seventh tables facing the emperor. The 'men of the Bulgarians' went to the eighth table of the same circuit, while the 'poor ones' were to sit at the ninth table.²⁵ Once again, Philotheos points out that everybody should be seated where their apparel and rank requires them to be. As for the Agarenes, they were not wearing *chlamydes* or *skaramangia*, which was the colourful dress of the Byzantine dignitaries and their important Christian guests. The Arabs' costume was some white apparel, deprived of a belt; they had to wear shoes, too, but Philotheos does not say what kind of shoes.²⁶

Beginning with Christmas Day, the festivities were supposed to last twelve days, which is why the whole series of banquets was called *dodekaemeron*; the feasting was to end on 5 January, the evening before Epiphany. Philotheos describes, in a characteristic meticulous manner, the ceremony as it evolves, day by day, all the way to its very end, on the Feast of the Holy Light.²⁷ Normally, the twelve-day celebration brought hundreds and hundreds of people to the imperial banquet, including the so-called 'emperor's people' who came in great numbers, such as sixty four men at a time. It is hard to say whether the purpose of having them at the banquet was only to give them a chance to share a meal with the rest of the guests, or

24. *Ibid.*, 169.1-8.

25. *Ibid.*, 169.8-20.

26. *Ibid.*, 169.20-21: τοὺς δὲ Ἀγαρηνοὺς λευκοφόρους.

27. Oikonomidēs erroneously translates ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἁγίων Φώτων as *l'Épiphanie*. Cf. *ibid.*, 184. Epiphany (6 Jan.) is the day after the Feast of the Holy Light (5 Jan.). On this day, the Feast of the Holy Light, angels descend from Heaven and, bringing divine light to the universal Church, herald the celebration of the baptism of the Son. The baptism itself is celebrated on the next day, which is Epiphany.

they had to serve as security guards in the overcrowded hall as well.²⁸ It seems that no foreigners were invited to the banquets of the second, third, fourth and fifth days.

On the sixth day, the archbishop of Constantinople (i.e., the patriarch), the abbots of the twelve most influential monasteries, and two hundred and sixteen monks were also invited to 'the most venerable imperial dinner' and were seated twelve by twelve. They were not dressed up but wore their monastic habit, and brought their collection boxes with them. The emperor gave them various sums of money, which they accepted as donations, and recited the usual eulogy in response.²⁹ The celebration of the sixth day seemed to be somewhat tricky, though: according to Philotheos, if Nativity happened to be on a Monday or a Tuesday, then on the Sunday of the same week, before you invited the patriarch and the abbots, you had to organise 'the so-called banquet of the many hairs' (τὸ λεγόμενον κλητόριον τὸν πολύτριχον). This was a gathering of all the 'barbarians', who were either 'friends' or employees of the emperor. The 'Bulgarian friends' as well as the Byzantine dignitaries of their class and the two *demarchoi* of the Greens and the Blues are specifically mentioned on this one day, too; they were all dressed in *chlamydes*.³⁰ The 'emperor's people', who came from various 'barbaric' nations, such as Pharganes (Asian Turks?), Khazars, Agarenes, and Franks were also invited to the 'banquet of the many hairs' and were eventually given money ('imperial *rhoga*'). They came in their usual clothes, which Philotheos calls *kabbadia*.³¹ The Agarenes mentioned in this

28. As regards the 'emperor's men', Shepard believes that many of them were actually foreign-born title-holders. See J. Shepard, 'Byzantine Diplomacy, 800-1204: Means and Ends', in *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers of the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin, 41-71, see esp. 62-63. Knowing that this institution may have evolved out of the *agentes in rebus* who, in early Byzantium, were primarily concerned with internal security, I am inclined to believe that, foreign title-holders or not, the 'emperor's men' were invited to the banquets in their capacity of security guards.

29. *Ibid.*, 174.14-177.19.

30. *Ibid.*, 177.20-28.

31. *Ibid.*, 177.28-179.3. Cf. *ibid.*, 209.13-25 — μετὰ τὸ ἐθνικὸν ἴδιον σχῆμα, οἰόνει τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεγόμενον καββάδι. According to Oikonomidēs, this was some type of a long cloak, probably of oriental origin. See *ibid.*, 178, n. 171. One wonders if this cloak were part of the uniform worn by the imperial guard.

case seem to have been some Arabs employed in the *hetaireia*, the imperial guard; they were probably Christians. As for the seventh- and eighth-day dinners, it seems that no foreigners were invited to any of them.

The celebration on the ninth day was an evening gala dinner, which was called *trygetikon*, meaning a 'fruit gathering', or 'vintage'. The twelve highest-ranking guests were, of course, *magistroi*, *anthypatoi*, *patrikioi* and *strategoï*, the two 'Bulgarian friends' and the two *demarchoi*, all of them wearing their colourful *chlamydes* and their *kampagia*. They were followed by a multitude of officials of lower ranks, all dressed up for the occasion. No Arabs or other 'barbarians' were present at this dinner; however, the 'poor ones' were there, and they had collection boxes (*sphragidia*) with them, which makes me believe that these were actually monks, who had taken vows to live in poverty.³² The tenth day witnessed another stream of people pour into the *Nineteen Couches*, from the twelve 'imperial friends' of the highest rank (this time without the Bulgarians) down to the emperor's physicians in their garments coloured in two different shades of blue, and another twelve men of 'the poor' who, in this case, might have been recruited from among the commonality.³³

On the evening of the eleventh day, there was yet another banquet: this time it took place in the brightly lit *Triklinos* of Justinian II. After the divine office, which was celebrated before dinner was served, the *atriklines* had to ask all the guests to change their clothes and put the required *skaramangia* on, so that they could dine with the emperor.³⁴ On the last day of the *dodekaemeron*, which was the Feast of the Holy Light, the elite of the Church were invited to the palace. Along with the patriarch and the metropolitans came certain numbers of priests, deacons, subdeacons and readers: they were recruited from among the clergy of the palace, St. Sophia and the *Nea* church. Because, in this case, the clergy represented the angels, who had come down to Earth to celebrate the union between Earth and Heaven, they had to be dressed up in white. The patriarch gave his blessing

32. *Ibid.*, 181.10-183.3.

33. *Ibid.*, 183.5-22: these 'poor' had no collection boxes with them.

34. *Ibid.*, 183.24-185.4.

to the assembly while the choir was singing *antiphonies*.³⁵ Something of a hymnographer himself, Emperor Leo VI had ordered that certain changes in the liturgy be made, so that his own compositions could be included in it.³⁶ These festivities ended at the twelfth hour of the day, that is, at six in the evening. They were followed by a reception and dances. These were followed by a special ceremony: a banquet in the brightly lit *Triklinos* of Justinian during which the emperor granted dignities to some of his officials. In response, all those present, dressed up in their formal clothes with open *chlamydes* on top, saluted him under the sounds of the organ.³⁷ The twelve-day Christmas celebration was followed by races in the Hippodrome and a gala dinner in the *triklinos* of the *kathismata*;³⁸ these races probably took place at some point after Epiphany.

Arab POWs were also invited to the Sunday Easter banquet. This time, the banquet took place in the 'renowned *Chrysotriklinos*', which derived its name from the famous gold, or gilded, *pentapyrgion* ('five-tower' cupboard?) that was on display there. The celebration was a theatricalised version of the appearance of Jesus Christ (represented by the emperor) before his disciples (the emperor's subjects).³⁹ Once again, the dignitaries, dressed up in *chlamydes* and *skaramangia*, were conducted into the banquet hall by order of their rank. The fourteen highest officials came first.⁴⁰ The 'two Bulgarian friends' were showed in together with the *magistroi*, *anthypatoi*, *patrikioi*, *strategoï* and a bunch of other officials, whose number totalled thirty. As befitted people of their rank, they wore *chlamydes*. They were followed by two hundred and thirty officials of lower ranks, beginning with *kandidatoi* and *silentiarioi* and ending with bearers of the imperial

35. *Ibid.*, 185.5-187.15, see esp. p. 187.1-2: τοὺς μὲν ἱερωμένους ἅπαντας μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων λευκῶν φελωνίων ('all the ordained ones must be wearing their white cloaks').

36. *Ibid.*, 189.1-7.

37. *Ibid.*, 189.8-27.

38. *Ibid.*, 189.28-30. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (2nd ed.: Paris 1964), 182: the emperor's box in the Hippodrome was called *kathisma*; the palace τὸν καθισματῶν was presumably situated somewhere near the Hippodrome. As a rule, the races were followed by banquets that took place in the *triklinos* of the *kathismata*.

39. *Ibid.*, 201.1-19.

40. *Ibid.*, 201.20-17: Philotheos describes these guests' apparel in great detail, from their robes down to their embroidered scarfs and girdles.

sceptres and insignia.⁴¹ Once these people were taken to their seats, the next group to be conducted into the hall were eighteen Agarenes from the *Praetorium* and eighteen 'men of the Bulgarian friends', that is, low-ranking members of the Bulgarian delegation.⁴² While the two important 'Bulgarian friends' were seated at the second table together with the *strategoi*, their not so important compatriots had to sit next to the Agarene captives. As on the previous occasion, the Agarenes had to wear some white apparel, which did not include a belt, and had to have shoes on their feet. The 'men of the Bulgarian friends', who were sitting at the next table, were allowed to come in their own clothes.⁴³ Organ music and chanting provided the musical background for the banquet. On the next day, when the liturgy at the church of the Holy Apostles was over, the feasting continued in the Great *Triklinos*. This time metropolitans were present, too. In its third day, the banquet was to take place in the *Chrysotriklinos*, and the arrangements were to be the same as the ones for the first day.⁴⁴

As a rule, the fourth and fifth day of the Easter banquet bore witness to a mind-boggling amount of people, who were invited to the 'golden imperial table': their occupation and status ranged from the fourteen abbots of influential monasteries down to various *basilikoi anthropoi*, who came in great numbers, for example, seventy two men at a time. The 'emperor's men' were of the orders of the *spatharokandidatoi* and the *stratoroi* and, as I mentioned before, they may have had to act as security guards as well.

On the sixth day, the banquet was preceded by a solemn procession throughout the palace. Later, during the banquet, the 'two Bulgarian friends' were expected to deliver 'the gifts from the Bulgarians' to the emperor. Once again, they had to be seated together with *magistroi*, *anthypatoi* and others of the same rank, the number of these people totalling thirty.⁴⁵ Their suite of eighteen men were to sit at one of the 'inferior' tables, all by themselves.⁴⁶ There seem to have been no

41. *Ibid.*, 203.7-13.

42. *Ibid.*, 203.13-15.

43. *Ibid.*, 203.25-31.

44. *Ibid.*, 205.7-207.5.

45. *Ibid.*, 207.32-209.6.

46. *Ibid.*, 209.8-11.

other foreigners invited to partake of the sixth-day celebration.

On the seventh day, after a procession in the interior of the palace, the guests came into the *Chrysotriklinos*. Apart from the high-ranking dignitaries, this dinner was attended by a number of civil servants and military of lower ranks as well: for example, we come across the *domestikoi* of the West and the foreigners of the imperial guard (οἱ ἔθνικοὶ τῆς ἐταιρείας), such as Turks (Magyars?), Khazars and others, whose number totalled forty four. The 'barbarians' came in their usual *kabbadia*.⁴⁷ The emperor gave them one *nomisma* each. In the previous years, according to Philotheos, it was not the 'barbarians' of the *hetaireia* but the *chartoularioi* of the treasury of St. Sophia that were invited to this banquet; in response to the imperial generosity, the *chartoularioi* recited the usual eulogy.⁴⁸

The Easter celebrations continued into the next week with a morning service on the First Sunday after Easter. A splendid procession of people dressed in colourful clothes made its way to the church of the Holy Apostles. When the liturgy was over, at the second hour of the day (i.e., eight in the morning), the *Triklinos* of Justinian opened its doors to a banquet, which was attended by both the emperor and patriarch.⁴⁹ On the next day, which was the Monday of the second week after Easter Sunday, the *Triklinos* of Justinian was opened for another reception, with organ music but no dances. On the third day of the second week after Easter Sunday, there were races in the Hippodrome and a farewell-party for the 'Bulgarian friends' who were leaving; this was followed by another banquet, which took place in the famous *triklinos* of the *kathismata*.⁵⁰

The Agarene captives from the *Praetorium* seem to have been present only at the first day of the eight-day Easter celebration. The Muslims are not mentioned in connection with the Pentecost festivities that were to begin a month later. A somewhat later source says that

47. *Ibid.*, 209.13-25. Cf. *ibid.*, 209.24: οἱ δὲ ἔθνικοὶ μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καββαδιῶν. See the identical description of the clothes of the 'barbarians', who attended the 'banquet of the many hairs' during the Christmas festivities.

48. *Ibid.*, 209.25-27.

49. *Ibid.*, 209.28-34.

50. *Ibid.*, 211.9-16.

the Muslim prisoners, both male and female, were tipped three *nomismata* each on Good Friday by Romanos Lekapenos.⁵¹ We do not know if this practice of tipping Arab POWs on Good Friday existed in the days of Leo VI, or not.

Now we have to go back to the main question: why did Arab prisoners have to be invited to the imperial banquets? Was it only because the fair treatment of the POWs would have given the Byzantines leverage in the peace negotiations, and prisoner-exchanges, with the Arabs? Or, was it because the Byzantines wanted to demonstrate the universal nature of their religion, and to substantiate the universalist claims of their empire, by including in their ceremonies as many people of different nationalities as possible?

The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos is, indeed, a living monument to Emperor Leo's love of 'multinationalism': no other Byzantine source makes such extensive provisions for the participation of foreign nationals in the imperial banquets. Furthermore, when referring to one of the gala dinners, Philotheos says that now it is the foreigners of the *hetaireia* that have to be invited, and tipped, and not the *chartoularioi* of St. Sophia, as it used to be. The banquets were obviously perceived as 'universal' gatherings of people of every nationality and status. Since there were no Muslim delegations, the Muslim POWs from the Great *Praetorium* could have been used as substitutes for the missing Arab ambassadors. And, in the absence of Frankish delegations, the Byzantines may have had to settle for the *hetaireia* to represent the Franks as well as the rest of the world at the imperial court. The person to host these banquets was, of course, the universal Christian ruler, the *basileus*.

This explanation seems plausible to me. Yet, knowing the Byzantines' weakness for numbers, signs, gestures and colours, one is tempted to look further into the possible meaning of the above-mentioned ceremonies.

In the first place, what strikes the reader of the *Kletorologion* as peculiar is the fact that low-ranking Bulgarians and Arab POWs appear next to each other at the Christmas Day and Easter Sunday

51. Theoph. Cont. (ed. Bonn.), 430.

banquets. While the two important 'Bulgarian friends' may have belonged to the upper crust of Bulgarian society, or were even members of the Bulgarian royal family, their suite were probably people belonging to the class of the lesser nobility. At Christmas Day, there were twelve 'men of the Bulgarians' and twenty four (two times twelve) Agarenes from the *Praetorium*; they sat next to each other, at neighbouring tables. At Easter Sunday, there were eighteen 'men of the Bulgarians' and eighteen Agarenes from the *Praetorium*; once again, they were seated next to each other. If we assume that the 'men of the Bulgarians' belonged to the lesser nobility in their country, does this mean that the Muslim POWs, too, belonged to the lesser nobility among the Arabs?

Arab authors, who wrote in the middle or the latter part of the tenth century, describe the Muslim prisoners, who were kept in the capital, as VIPs.⁵² It is true that the Arab sources, which refer to the good treatment of Muslim POWs in Constantinople, come from a somewhat later epoch, the mid- and late-900s. As early as the late ninth or the very beginning of the tenth century, however, the Byzantines seem to have already adopted the practice of distributing POWs among prisons with varying regimes. Of the four prisons that existed in the Byzantine capital, one was used for Tarsans and another one — for other Muslims.⁵³ As for the rank and file of the Muslim captives, they were distributed among four other prisons, which were located in different *themata* of the empire. Dividing Muslim POWs

52. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 423-424; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 384-386: according to a late tenth-century Arab writer, Muqaddasi, the Muslim prisoners, who were kept in the Byzantine capital, were not forced to work and were well taken care of. They were free to practice their Muslim beliefs in a mosque. In order to accommodate Muslim prisoners of aristocratic descent, the Byzantines built a spacious house, which was situated near the palace. This evidence, however, refers to the 980s, that is, the reign of Basil II (976-1025). The POWs mentioned by Muqaddasi may have belonged to the higher Arab aristocracy who, unlike their fellow countrymen of the lesser nobility, were treated as royal hostages rather, than prisoners of war.

53. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 385. Cf. *ibid.*, 393: Ibn-Yahya says that a large aqueduct brought water from 'the lands of the Bulgarians' into Constantinople. As soon as it reached the City, the aqueduct split into three branches: one of them brought water to the palace, the second to the prisons of the Muslims, and the third to the baths of the patricians and the rest of the citizenry.

into categories and giving preferential treatment to those who were of noble descent would have eventually meant more ransom money, of course. But were the Byzantines interested in the money only?

Unlike the ordinary Muslims, both refugees and captives, whom the Byzantines encouraged to accept baptism in return for a comfortable settlement in the empire,⁵⁴ the people kept in the *Praetorium* may have been unwilling to apostatise. And, if these were aristocrats who could later be ransomed for a lot of money, it is highly unlikely that the imperial government would have gone as far as to have them forcibly converted to Christianity. At the same time, however, Byzantines believed that it was their emperor's task to guarantee everybody's salvation through the worldwide spread of Orthodoxy. In order to fulfil this task without openly challenging the Arab prisoners' beliefs, the Byzantine authorities may have been compelled to resort to a compromise solution; they may have been trying to symbolically convert the Muslims to Christianity by subjecting them to a quasi-baptismal ceremony. The Muslims would not be aware of what was going on but, all the same, the salvation of their souls would be guaranteed. And the emperor would score points in the eyes of both his subjects and his Christian foreign guests; he would be seen as a truly universal ruler capable of converting the whole world to Byzantine Christianity.

That the Arab POWs were subject to a quasi-baptism of sorts could be seen from the following two facts: (a) the Agarenes attending the Christmas and Easter banquets were vested in what was called 'the white robes of sinlessness', worn by the saints, the angels and the *katechoumenoi*, or the 'enlightened' (i.e., the catechumens to be baptised on Holy Saturday evening) and (b) they were invited to partake of Christian ceremonies that either immediately preceded the opening of the baptismal season in the Orthodox liturgical calendar

54. Constantine Porphyrogenitus describes the privileges, which ex-Muslim settlers enjoyed in his day: they were given enough money to set up a household, and were exempted from certain taxes for a three-year period. A three-year tax exemption period was also granted to land-owning families who adopted an ex-Muslim son-in-law. Cf. Const. Porph., *De cerim.*, 694-695. It is not clear, however, when this 'law' was adopted.

(Epiphany), or followed in the wake of a baptismal ceremony that was specially designed to accommodate adult *katechoumenoi* (the Vigil before Easter Sunday). In order to make my point clear, I will briefly describe the baptismal rites observed by the Orthodox church. I will also attempt to examine the meaning, which the Byzantines attached to the various numbers and colours in their religious and court ceremonial.

In the early Church, baptism, whose main purpose is the remission of sin through lustration in the name of the Holy Trinity, was preceded by a lengthy catechumenate, which lasted three years. Later, probably in the seventh century, the catechumenate was reduced to the last weeks of Lent while the baptismal rites were performed on Holy Saturday evening. The preparatory rites that preceded the act of baptism were at first celebrated on Good Friday.⁵⁵ From at least the eighth century on, the Byzantine usage compressed all of this into a service immediately preceding baptism. The earliest surviving document describing some of the preparatory rites, but not the order of baptism itself, is the so-called *Barberini Euchologion* (fol. 260 sq.), which was compiled *ca.* 790. It closely follows the prescriptions of John Chrysostom.⁵⁶

As could be seen from a tenth-century manuscript published by J. Mateos, the *Typikon* of the Great Church stipulates that the catechumens, accompanied by six deacons, ought to be exhorted by the patriarch on Monday of the third week of Lent.⁵⁷ The baptismal ceremony was to be performed by the patriarch himself on Holy Saturday evening. Prior to the actual baptising, he had to change into a white *sticharion*. At the end of the ceremony, all the priests, who had also changed into white *sticharia*, had to descend the *synthronos* (in the apse) in an angel-like manner while chanting the baptismal

55. See the rubrics *baptism* and *catechumenate* in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan (New York-Oxford 1991), I, 251, 390-391.

56. An English translation of this text is available in E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Ceremony* (London 1970), 69-82.

57. J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix No. 40, X^e siècle* (*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 166), II: *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles* (Roma 1963), 30-32.

troparion. Now, the 'enlightened' were to dress in white robes, too.⁵⁸ That all the participants in this ceremony had to be vested in white is only natural: white stands for purity and is the liturgical colour for the Easter season. On the next day, the newly baptised, together with the others, participated in a service, which included the famous psalm 'What God is great like Our God?'.⁵⁹ This psalm evokes powerful images of God trampling upon his enemies. Apart from being chanted on Easter Sunday and on all the other Orthodox holidays associated with baptism, this psalm was also chanted during the service (16 August) commemorating the Virgin's delivery of Constantinople from the Arabs in 718. As McCormick has shown, this psalm was chanted during the celebration of tenth-century triumphs over captured Arabs as well.⁶⁰

Initially, the Church made provisions for baptism to be performed on Holy Sabbath only. Later, however, Constantinople began celebrating this ritual on Epiphany, Lazarus Saturday and Pentecost, too, because of the baptismal and resurrectional symbolism associated with these days.⁶¹ While the Muslim POWs seem to have been absent from the celebrations on Lazarus Saturday and Pentecost, their participation in at least the first banquet of the twelve-day feasting prior to Epiphany is, as we have seen, well attested. The baptismal ceremony on Epiphany

58. *Ibid.*, 86-87: The vesper began with two psalms; when the chanting was over, the patriarch and the presbyters made their entry; they carried the Gospel, the Big Incensory and three chandeliers; the patriarch ascended the [patriarchal] throne in the apse. The *prokeimenon* that followed consisted of another four psalms, then *Gen.* 1, 1-5 was read. After that, the patriarch came down from the apse and approached the *Great Baptisterium*; he changed into a white *sticharion*, then made his entry into the *Baptisterium* (the *Baptisterium* in question was built in the form of a small basilica, with a narthex that led to the baptismal font). The patriarch had to go around the baptismal font three times while waving the incensory; in this, he was assisted by the deacons; then he performed the baptismal lumination, according to the order of baptism. After several more psalms and readings from the Gospel, the patriarch got out of the *Baptisterium* and made a solemn ritual entrance through the *Main Gates* into the nave; he was followed by the newly baptised (the 'newly enlightened'). Chanting the baptismal *troparion*, the presbyters descended from the apse and changed into white *sticharia*, too. Dressed in white, the 'newly enlightened' joined the waiting congregation in the final rite of initiation, communion in the paschal Eucharist.

59. *Ibid.*, 88.

60. McCormick, *op. cit.*, 161-162.

61. See baptism in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I, 251.

is quite similar to the Holy Sabbath one.⁶² The liturgical colour of the season, which begins with Christmas Eve and ends with Epiphany, is white (with the exception of the Feast of St. Stephen when the colour is red). Similarly, the colour for the liturgical season beginning with Easter Sunday and ending with Pentecost is white, too. As I have already shown, these are the two liturgical seasons when the Orthodox church performs baptismal rites, and when both clergy and catechumens have to change in white during the ceremony. Being the colour of purity and sinlessness,⁶³ white had to be worn by those, who sought remission of their sins, as well as by those, who helped them go through the process of purification and lustration in the name of the Trinity. Needless to say, the order of baptism was highly dramatised in order to produce maximum effect on those who were being baptised, and on the congregation as a whole.

With the decline of the adult catechumenate and the shift to infant baptism, which seems to have been completed by the end of the sixth century, it is safer to assume that, in the middle Byzantine period, the rites designed for the baptism of adults were reserved exclusively for foreigners, whether these were entire nations seeking conversion to Byzantine Christianity (e.g., Bulgarians, Serbs and, later, Russians), or adult individuals (e.g., Muslim captives and renegades). We do not know what the mass conversion of adults in the Slavic countries was like in the ninth and tenth centuries. Once foreigners were safely brought to the imperial capital, however, the Byzantines would hardly fail to perform the proper baptismal rites, accompanied by theatrical effects and splendour.

62. Mateos, *op. cit.*, I: *Le cycle des douze mois* (Roma 1962), 184-187: at the end of the baptismal *troparion*, the patriarch comes to the baptismal font and baptises the candidates; then, the newly baptised led by the patriarch make a solemn entrance through the *Main Gates* into the nave and approach the pulpit; the chanting is going on. The psalm with which the baptismal ceremony ends is 'What God is great like Our God?'. This is followed by seven lections, i.e., readings from the Gospel, beginning with *Act.* 8, 26.

63. There are five different colours, which are used for the seasons of the liturgical calendar: see E. Hangen, *Symbols: Our Universal Language* (Wichita, KS 1962). In Byzantine colour symbolism, white is not only the colour of purity and sinlessness but also the colour of (divine) light: for example, Christ's robes at the Transfiguration are white. See L. James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (Oxford 1996), 106-107.

With the Arab prisoners from the *Praetorium* it was different: as I said before, if these people were aristocrats, the authorities could ill-afford to openly convert them to Christianity against their will. The safest way to do it was to invite them to partake of court ceremonies, which took place on religious holidays associated with baptism. These were the Christmas Day and Easter Sunday banquets when large numbers of people — courtiers and guests alike — were supposed to be going back and forth between the palace and St. Sophia while chanting psalms and acclamations. The least obvious and, from a Muslim's point of view, the least painful way of making the Arab POWs undergo some quasi-baptism was to make them take part in this theatricalised ceremony, which was a mixture of secular and religious elements.

The Arabs' simple, beltless white robes must have been in stark contrast with the garments of every imaginable cut and colour, which the rest of the guests were wearing. Possibly, everybody but the poor Muslims was aware that these people were unknowingly playing the role of adult catechumens, or 'enlightened'. The connection with baptism is not all that direct but, after all, the authorities did not dare push the whole thing any further. Besides, the fact that Harun-ibn-Yahya describes the imperial banquets, and the POWs' participation in them, without mentioning anything about possible baptism of the Arabs suggests that the true meaning of what was happening on Christmas Day and Easter Sunday remained concealed from Muslim eyes. Indeed, the meaning of what was going on was camouflaged with gestures of generosity and goodwill on the part of the Byzantines: ibn-Yahya reports that, at the end of the twelve-hour banquet, the POWs were tipped, and each prisoner received two dinars and three dirhems.⁶⁴ The Muslims, however, were unable to read into the symbolic language of the Byzantine ceremonies because the Byzantine

64. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 388-389.

symbols 'worked' within a Christian cultural context only.⁶⁵

The Muslim POWs must have been aware of the obvious: that their simple white dress was different from the colourful dress of everybody else. As could be seen from the surviving Arab accounts, Muslims knew that the gold and purple colours of the emperor's robes symbolised supreme power; and they were aware of the symbolism, which the Byzantines attached to the display of wealth.⁶⁶ The symbolic meaning of the colour white, however, derives from the colour system of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Therefore, the Muslim POWs were unable to see the connection between the white colour of their apparel, on one hand, and the remission of sins which they were supposedly going through, on the other.

Their garment was also deprived of a belt, the ancient symbol of valour and prestige. Because they were only captives, however, the deprivation of a belt, and a sword — or a dagger — to go with it, must have been seen, by the Arabs, as something normal under the circumstances. Finally, they had to wear shoes, like everybody else, but this may not have been seen as a problem, either; a Muslim man ought to take his shoes off only when stepping on holy grounds, i.e., upon his entry into a mosque, not on other occasions.

Yet, for the average Byzantine observer, whose ability to read into the language of signs and colours offered some compensation for his inadequate formal education, this must have been quite a sight. The

65. That Muslim observers accepted Byzantine ceremonies at their face value could be seen from ibn-Yahya's description of a religious procession led by the emperor: eunuchs dressed in white, pages of Khazar and Turkic origin, and dignitaries of all ranks follow the emperor and his 'vizier' to the Great Church. Harun-ibn-Yahya describes, in great detail, the colours of their apparel and accessories, the imperial crown, and the trappings of the imperial horses; he even makes a note of the emperor's two different shoes: one shoe was red, the other black. Furthermore, he conveys, with remarkable precision, the ceremonial greetings of the 'vizier' (the *logothete* of the *drome*?), the answers of the emperor, and all the acclamations. Nevertheless, the Arab author does not offer any explanation as to what the meaning of this public ceremony was, or on which Christian holiday it took place. See Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, 389-392. On the other hand, when describing the banquets at the palace, Harun-ibn-Yahya does not mention the dress of the Arab POWs, which leads me to believe that he did not suspect the Byzantines of any 'wrongdoing'.

66. See above, n. 65. Cf. El Cheikh-Saliba, *op. cit.*, 166-190, and esp. 185 sqq.

Byzantine knew that the white colour of a man's garb normally made him a *κατηχούμενος*, or *νεοφώτιστος*. As for the belt, according to the Christian moralists, it was a symbol of self-restraint, chastity and moderation; therefore, every baptised man ought to wear a belt.⁶⁷ Although, by Leo's and Constantine's time, the Byzantines had already managed to turn the various types of waistbands, belts and girdles into a glamorous part of the ceremonial dress,⁶⁸ the belt *per se* retained its initial significance as a restrainer of lust. Not only did the Arabs lack this lust restraining component of a man's clothing, but their beltless garb placed them in stark contrast to the sword, or dagger, bearing Byzantine emperor and nobles. For the belt had yet another meaning in the Roman Christian symbolism: the sword attached to it stood for imperial authority. The emperor ought to bear a sword not only because he was the supreme commander of the Roman armed forces but also because he had to defend Christendom against its enemies. As Paul, *Rom.* XIII.4 wrote, the ruler 'beareth not the sword in vain'; how medieval Christians interpreted the Apostle's words could be seen from the words of an eighth-century pope, Paul I: he wrote that the Christian ruler must bear a sword for he is the 'revenger to execute wrath upon him who doeth evil'. In this, the emperor was assisted by the sword-bearing officers in his service.

67. What symbolism Christian authors assigned to the belt as an accessory to the man's dress could best be seen from the following example: in 866, the newly converted Bulgarian ruler, Boris-Michael, sent Pope Nicholas I a long list of questions. In most cases, the prince was trying to find out whether the instructions, which the Greek missionaries had given to the Bulgarian people, were true, or false. Depending on whether the Greek and Latin practices coincided or not, the pope confirmed, or rejected, the Greek instructions. For example, Boris asked whether the Greeks were right when saying that a man, who goes to church without a belt, performs a grave sin and should be denied communion. In this case Nicholas I sided with the Greeks. He wrote back that, in Christian eyes, the belt has an important symbolic meaning: it stands for chastity, moderation and self-restraint; therefore, every baptised man must wear a belt. In order to substantiate his words, the pope quoted passages from the writings of the Latin Fathers and Pope Celestine I (422-432). See Pope Nicholas I, *Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, cap. LV in *MGH Epistolae VI* (ed. E. Perels), 587.

68. The *Book of Ceremonies* contains quite a few descriptions of richly decorated girdles, waistbands, belts and collars, each of them illustrating the bearer's status and position at the court. Even a foreign princess, Olga, was highly flattered when she received a girdle as a token of distinction: see Const. Porphy., *De cerim.*, 594-598.

In other words, for the average Byzantine, it was either the saints and angels (whose purity was not questioned anyway), or the people who were just about to step over the threshold of the faith (but had not become true Christians yet) that were not supposed to be wearing belts in public, and ought to be dressed in white. During certain religious processions led by the emperor eunuchs were dressed in white, too: probably, these white, sexless figures symbolised the martyrs who, during the Last Judgment, were to testify before Christ on account of their fellow human beings. Because the Muslim POWs attending the banquets were hardly seen as saints, angels or martyrs, it is safer to assume that they were seen as people who were being purified through lustration in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Because they had not joined the ranks of the true Christians yet, they did not wear belts, which would have symbolised their chastity and self-restraint; and they were the disarmed enemy, too.

While the formidable Muslim warriors, with their legendary *machoism*, were now reduced to the position of humble supplicants before the emperor (and before God), the striking contrast between their white, sexless 'robes of sinlessness' and the powerful purple colour of their master's dress was expected to underscore the elevated, God-like position of the *basileus*.⁶⁹ He was seen as a universal ruler, and an ultimate benefactor. He was the one, who had the power to make the empire's enemies tremble with fear and bow to his imperial authority; yet, he was also the one, who was glorified as being Christ-loving and *philanthropos*. The sharp contrast in colour and position was yet another means through which the imperial propaganda helped Byzantines, and Christian foreigners for that matter, visualise the difference between the impotency of the subdued enemy, on one hand, and the might of the Roman empire, on the other. This was a revelation

69. In Western civilisation, the colour purple has been viewed as a symbol of supreme authority and power for over three thousand years now. Cf. M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Collection Latomus, vol. 116), (Brussels 1970). Philotheos does not say anything about the cut and colour of the emperor's dress. There is every reason to believe, however, that on solemn occasions such as Christmas and Easter the *basileus* was dressed up in imperial gold and purple.

of what the fate of all the empire's adversaries was going to be: once defeated, the former fearsome enemy would become a tame Christian brother, subject to the emperor.

The one element of the Muslims' dress that I have been unable to explain is their shoes. Philotheos is quite explicit about the highest-ranking Byzantine dignitaries and the two important 'Bulgarian friends': they are said to have been wearing *kampagia*. Probably, these were some richly decorated sandals, whose initial symbolism was associated with military virtue but which had come to signify elevated station in general. However, Philotheos says nothing about the shoes, or sandals, worn by the Byzantine officials of the lower ranks; neither does he say anything about the shoes worn by the 'barbarians' of the imperial guard. As for the Agarenes from the *Praetorium*, they are said to have been *ὑποδεδεμένοι*, 'with shoes/sandals on their feet'. If this fact is specifically mentioned in the *Kletorologion*, then it must have been important for some reason that Muslims should not be allowed to come barefoot to the banquet. On the other hand, the only occasions on which Christians seem to have walked barefoot were some religious processions. Philotheos does not go into this type of detail but we have Liudprand's description of a public procession, led by Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963-969), which took place on Pentecost of 968: on their way to St. Sophia, the people are said to have been walking barefoot.⁷⁰ We may assume that, during the court ceremonies, shoes were seen as an accessory to the ceremonial dress rather, than an important symbol in its own right.

With their characteristic love for cryptograms, Byzantines assigned great importance to numbers, too. As could be seen from the *Kletorologion*, the people who were invited to the banquet of the *Nineteen Couches* had to be seated twelve by twelve, surrounding the emperor after the fashion of the Apostles. Why the number of the Agarenes was two times twelve while the low-ranking Bulgarians sitting next to them numbered only twelve is hard to tell. The banquet lasted twelve hours. The scene of the banquet was obviously made to resemble the Last Supper, with Jesus Christ surrounded by his

70. Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, cap. IX, in *op. cit.*, 532.8-26.

disciples, but it is not clear why a celebration of the Nativity ought to be associated with this type of symbolism. Maybe, in Byzantine eyes, the symbolism of Nativity and Epiphany went hand-in-hand with the resurrectional symbolism? Or, maybe, the number twelve associated with the Christmas banquets — e.g., having twelve people per table, the banquets lasting twelve hours a day in the course of twelve days and ending by the twelfth hour of the twelfth day — was also somehow associated with the number twelve in the Old Testament: e.g., the twelve tribes of Israel, who were God's chosen people, and the emperor, who was their father, Abraham? Or, maybe, it was associated with the number twelve that runs throughout the *Book of Revelation*? The numbers associated with the Easter Day banquet are even harder to decipher; for example, in this case the number of the Agarenes from the *Praetorium* was eighteen; it equalled the number of the low-ranking Bulgarians. The significance, which Byzantine ceremonies attached to certain numbers borrowed from the Judaeo-Christian prophetic tradition, the Gospels and the *Book of Revelation*, altogether deserves to be subject to a special study.

The fact that the low-ranking Bulgarians were seated next to the Saracen POWs at the Christmas Day and Easter Sunday banquets must have had special significance as well. The Bulgarians symbolised the former terrible enemy, who was now a 'brother in the Spirit' of the Byzantines and who, allegedly, recognised the universal authority of the Byzantine emperor.⁷¹ When seeing the Muslims seated next to the already pacified Bulgarians, those present at the banquets ought to realise that now it was the Arabs' turn to become 'brothers in the Spirit' of the Byzantines and acknowledge the emperor's universal authority.

Whenever one discusses the treatment of Muslim POWs at Byzantine hands, one should also look into the tenth-century triumphs. The reigns of Leo's son and grandson bore witness to several triumphs celebrating Byzantine victories over the Arabs. Whether these celebrations were carried out in the streets of the capital or the Hippodrome, they invariably included one of the most important

71. The idea that, through their conversion to Byzantine Christianity, Bulgarians have become tame 'brothers/children in the Spirit' of the Byzantines has found reflection in numerous Byzantine sources. See, for example, Theoph. Cont. IV.15, (Bonn 1838), 163.19-165.10.

elements of the old, Roman triumph: this was the parade of trophies and prisoners. The subdued position of the defeated enemy was demonstrated in various ways: the prisoners were paraded on foot under the cheers and jeers of the crowds; they had to perform *proskynesis* before the emperor while the Roman troops held their confiscated arms and standards upside down, and the triumphant crowds were chanting psalms and acclamations.⁷² None of these celebrations, however, involved a change of clothes for the captives. The ritual dressing of Muslim captives in white was obviously not part of the Byzantine triumph.

Of the several triumphs that were celebrated under Constantine VII and his son, Romanos II (959-963), there is only one triumph during which Muslim captives were paraded in white dress. This was the triumph of the general Nikephoros Phokas, which was celebrated in the imperial capital in 962, in the reign of Romanos II. As McCormick points out, the middle Byzantine triumph normally ended with a Thanksgiving service to the Virgin celebrated in St. Sophia. An extremely pious man, Nikephoros may have wanted to add an extra religious element to his triumph: instead of riding in a chariot, or on horseback, the general chose to walk, like a humble penitent. Behind him followed the traditional parade of booty and prisoners; the prisoners were all clad in white.⁷³

That Nikephoros viewed his campaigns against the Arabs as religiously important could be seen from the threats, which he allegedly made: among other things, he is said to have threatened to capture Mecca and establish the throne of Christ there.⁷⁴ As emperor, Nikephoros entered into an open conflict with the patriarch of Constantinople, Polyeuktos (956-970), because he demanded that the Christian soldiers, who had fallen in battle with Muslims, should be recognised as martyrs by the Orthodox church; the patriarch dismissed the emperor's

72. McCormick, *op. cit.*, 162-168; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 383-384. See also El Cheikh-Saliba, *op. cit.*, 183-185: about the Arabs' repulsion for the act of *proskynesis*.

73. Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronographia* in *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838), 759-760. Cf. McCormick, *op. cit.*, 168.

74. See the Arab sources, which convey Nikephoros' threats, in El Cheikh-Saliba, *op. cit.*, 159-162.

demands by saying that it was in contradiction to the canons.

During religious processions, Emperor Nikephoros Phokas was hailed as, among other things, 'the pale death of the Saracens'.⁷⁵ Liudprand, who mentions this in connection with the Pentecost celebration, seems to have been confused over Nikephoros' laudatory epithets; the emperor was probably glorified as *Σαρακηνοκτόνος*, by analogy with *Βουλγαροκτόνος*, *βαρβαροκτόνος*, and *Ῥωμαῖοκτόνος* (the last epithet being used with reference to a hateful Bulgarian ruler). Nevertheless, Liudprand did not entirely miss the point: this was Nikephoros Phokas' double glorification as a physical slayer of Arabs and a terminator of the Muslims' impure beliefs.

The triumph over the Arabs, which Nikephoros Phokas had celebrated several years earlier, seems to have had certain apocalyptic connotations: it reminds one of the so-called *Triumph of the Elect* (Rev. 7), in which a huge crowd of 'every nation and race, people and tongue stood before the throne of the Lamb, dressed in long white robes and holding palm branches in their hands'. The Lamb, i.e., Jesus Christ, was represented by the emperor; probably, the triumphant general aimed at representing himself as one of the martyrs, 'the ones who have survived the great period of trial' and who 'have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb'. The Arab POWs, all dressed in white, were probably identified by the crowds as martyrs, too: now they were going through their 'great period of trial' in order to become purified, after which 'the Lamb on the throne' (Christ as well as the emperor) would shepherd them into salvation and eternal bliss.

Knowing Nikephoros Phokas' dealings with the Arabs, it is no wonder that, eventually, they were only too glad to find out that the 'tyrant' had been murdered; but they regretted the fact that he had died in Constantinople, and they could neither see, nor partake of, the assassination.⁷⁶

75. Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, cap. X, in *op. cit.*, 532.28. The epithet 'pale death of the Saracens' is probably associated with the images of the Apocalyptic 'Pale Rider', whose other name is Death; this image was popular in Western Europe. Cf. Otto of Freising VI.26, in *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XVI (Darmstadt 1960), 470.28: Emperor Otto II is called *pallida Saracenorum mors*.

76. M.Canard, *Quelques recueils de textes relatifs à l'émir Saïf al-Dawla* (Algiers 1934), 415-418: Ibn Nubata's sermon celebrating Emperor Nikephoros' assassination.

On the other hand, the *Book of Revelation*, with its extravagant symbolism conveyed through allegories, colours and numbers, must have been a rich source of ideas for the Byzantine *Zeremoniellmeister*. Christian mythology in general, and the elaborate ritual of the Byzantine church in particular, seem to have been important sources of ideas for those, who were in charge of the imperial court ceremonial. Now and then, emperors took special interest in the making, and re-making, of ceremonies since the current ceremonial was supposed to reflect the emperor's own ideas of chastity, piety, power and glory.

Back to the main question of the Arab POWs and the imperial banquets: we do not know whether, in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Muslim prisoners were invited to the banquets, or not. Constantine did include Philotheos's work in his own treatise on court ceremonial but this does not necessarily mean that the practice of inviting Muslim prisoners to the Christmas and Easter banquets still existed at that time. Yet, Constantine was immensely interested in the Arab world, and in the empire's dealings with it.⁷⁷ His interest in the Arabs found graphic expression in the lavish receptions, which he gave to Muslim delegations.⁷⁸ Maybe, when all these facts are taken into account, one may assume that Constantine continued the practice of having Arab prisoners at the banquets. After all, he seem to have been very fond of ceremonies that were overloaded with symbolism. Constantine would have hardly failed to appreciate the complex meaning of a ceremony, which involved the participation of Muslim captives in the celebration of Christmas and Easter: this may have presented him with yet another opportunity of displaying imperial generosity while subjecting the Muslims to a deeply coded ceremonial of conversion, of which they remained totally ignorant.

77. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematribus*, ed., trans. and comm. A. Pertusi (Città del Vaticano 1952), 73, 77, 94-95, 97-98; cf. Const. Porph., *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik (Budapest 1949), chaps. 22-25. While, under Constantine's father, it was the Arabs and Bulgaria that seemed to have been assigned the utmost importance in the empire's relations with the outer world, under Constantine himself the focus of the imperial foreign policy obviously shifted to the *Rhos*, who now came to share the first position with the Arabs. As for Bulgaria and Francia, they are not discussed in *DAI*.

78. Const. Porph., *De cerim.*, 584. Cf. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 502.

However, it was his father, Emperor Leo VI, who must be credited with the invention of this coded ceremony: his military victories over the Arabs and the leniency with which he subsequently treated Arab POWs in Constantinople; his efforts to represent himself as a truly universal ruler presiding over an ethnically diverse but religiously uniform world; the broad range of his intellectual pursuits that covered everything from astrology and numerology down to hymnography and military art, and his interest in ceremonies were probably the factors which, put together, brought about this ceremonial innovation.

The Byzantine public, as I pointed out, were highly apprehensive of the language of symbols. Whether these were triumphs, public processions, diplomatic receptions or banquets, the Byzantines were used to seeing their emperor as being the central figure in a complex ceremonial, which invariably had a religious dimension to it, and which always conveyed the same message: what God is great like Our God, and like our empire? As for the Muslim observers of Byzantine ceremonies, they failed to apprehend the baptismal, resurrectional, or apocalyptic connotations of these ceremonies, and accepted them very much at their face value. Thus, during the Christmas and Easter banquets, the blissful ignorance of the Arab POWs enabled them to enjoy the delicious food and the generous imperial tips without any seeming signs of distress. They were obviously unaware of the proverbial warning that one should fear the Greeks even when they come bearing gifts.

Sofia, Bulgaria

Μ. Παπαθωμοπούλου–Ε.Μ. Jeffreys (edd.), *Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος (The War of Troy)*. Κριτική ἔκδοση με εἰσαγωγή καὶ πίνακες [Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 6]. Athens: Μορφωτικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἑθνικῆς Τραπέζης, 1996. Pp. cxxxvii, 750, 8 plates.

The *War of Troy* (*Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος*), a Greek translation, or rather paraphrase, of the twelfth-century *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de St. Maure, represents an important stage in the medieval dissemination of the Troy legend; in this case the legend is ‘repatriated’ from the West, blended with medieval cultural elements. The main sources of the French original were the accounts by Dares and Dictys, the fictitious correspondents of the Trojan War. The Greek translation was produced in the fourteenth century, but, according to E. Jeffreys, the dating cannot be established more precisely. A Frankish-occupied territory in medieval Greece would provide a convenient framework to place the undertaking of the anonymous translator. The editio princeps of the *War of Troy* by Elizabeth Jeffreys and Manolis Papathomopoulos, brings forth a substantial chapter of the history of medieval Greek literature and stimulates interest in a variety of issues.

A sizeable portion of the *War of Troy* was published, among other texts, by D.I. Mavrophrydis in 1866 (*Ἐκλογή μνημείων τῆς νεωτέρας ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, Α΄*), in an edition which contributed almost nothing to the understanding of the work. No substantial study ensued from this edition. The presentation and critical treatment of the text hardly made it possible. The volume (the last published work of the short-lived Mavrophrydis), which has by now become rare, has passed into oblivion — indeed it has become itself a monument of the 19th century historicism which tended to reduce medieval texts into linguistic repositories of an unbroken Greek past. Charles Gidel presented a very small sample from the same Parisian manuscript Mavrophrydis had used. Linos Politis edited some 100 lines in his *Anthology* and discussed some of the manuscripts; he also presented a manuscript which was previously unknown. Only short and rather vague chapters or brief mentions of the *War of Troy* are to be found in histories of Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature and other related studies. This is not surprising since the *War of Troy* has been practically unknown, and the relevant bibliography is poor.

For well over a century the *War of Troy* has been a stretch of medieval wilderness, too large to ignore but too thorny to tread. After all, this is a text 14,400 lines long based on some 52,000 lines of textual testimony distributed unevenly between seven manuscripts. So the text has been lying dormant for very long. Elizabeth Jeffreys and Manolis Papathomopoulos devoted some 27 years of effort to bring it back to life. The effort is certainly worth the trouble of reviving the sleeping princess. But is she a beauty? Perhaps she is not alluring, but she is definitely rich and interesting.

As a matter of fact, aesthetic evaluation is hardly relevant here. The text is more than a rich linguistic repository. It offers considerable insight into the questions of contact between medieval Greek and Western literature, of cultural exchanges, of translation tactics and the use of established literary conventions, and greatly enriches our understanding of the romance genre and the texture of vernacular literature.

A few remarks can be made here, mainly concerning the adaptation and acclimatisation of the *Roman de Troie* to a Greek environment. The anonymous Greek translator often abbreviates or removes passages of the French text, while, as E. Jeffreys has shown, he has access to Byzantine sources on the Troy legend, although he has no knowledge of Homer. One of the most notable omissions is that of the 'Judgement of Paris' which is attributed to the influence of Byzantine sources, mainly the Chronicle of Manasses. However, the omission of the Prologue of the French original, in which Homer is discredited as a source for the true story of the Trojan war, would merit some attention and comment in connection with the problem of the translator's sources and his attempt at combining the Western and Byzantine traditions of the Trojan legend (if we suppose that the translator had the full French text at his disposal).

A particularly interesting feature of the translation practice (insofar as the modern French edition allows safe comparison) is that the translator often departs from the French text to adopt vocabulary and expressions characteristic of the lyrical idiom of the Byzantine vernacular romances. This is particularly evident in passages of amatory content. The same tendency is evident in a later translation of a Western work, namely Boccaccio's *Theseid*. The Greek *Theseid* (Θησεΐς καὶ Γάμοι τῆς Ἐμιλίας) fortunately offers grounds for a more firmly established dating than the *War of Troy*, and its affiliation with the strands of the Italian tradition is fairly securely determined (S. Kaklamanis now dates the Greek *Theseid* to the end of 14th c.-beginning 15th c.). As recent research by B. Olsen and S. Kaklamanis has shown, the translator of this work frequently deviates from the meaning of the Italian original to employ vocabulary and expressions already cultivated in the so-called Palaeologan romances (e.g. *Theseid*, MS P III 19.3, III 22.7, III 31.6, III 35.5., IV 56.3, VI 10.4). This indicates that he has recourse to the conventions and topical expressions of a cultivated genre within an established tradition. The relevant material in the *War of Troy* is comparatively limited, as the romantic element, although strategically installed, is not predominant in this work, and furthermore, the translator seems (as E. Jeffreys remarks) to become impatient with passages on romantic love which he sometimes suppresses; nevertheless, we can find an interesting number of passages where the translator draws upon traditional Greek imagery, instead of following the French original. See for example:

<i>War of Troy</i> 314-5	Ἔρωσ φορικτὸς τὴν ἐφλεγεν ἀπέσωθεν· ἡ ἀγάπη εἰς μέγαν στενοχωρισμὸν ἤφερε τὴν ψυχὴν της
<i>Roman de Troie</i> 1294-5	Dès or la tient bien en ses laz Amors, vers qui rien n'a defense,

where the metaphor of the 'snare of Love' of the French original is substituted by the familiar metaphor of fire, and Amors is represented by the 'double' Ἔρωσ and ἀγάπη which is quite common in the Byzantine romance (the metaphor of the snare of Love is also abandoned in vv. 6454-5, cf. *Roman de Troie* 1514-6). Similar uses of metaphors and expressions belonging to a cultivated lyrical idiom attested in the Palaeologan romances are provided, for example, by vv. 1766-9, 5884-5, 8578-9 (cf. *Roman de Troie* 4357-4364, 13693-4, 19432-40). It is also

interesting (but not surprising) that the Greek translator seems to have no equivalent for the French *fin amors*.

The edition of the *War of Troy* is accompanied by an Introduction which provides information and stimulating discussion on many subjects, which will be further opened to research and interpretation. E.M. Jeffreys wrote most of it, while four chapters — those on Formulas, Metre, Manuscript Relationships and the Principles of the Edition — were written by M.J. Jeffreys. There are also chapters on Analysis, Sources, Language, Date, Manuscript Description and Illustrations as well as the necessary bibliographical information on previous editions and studies.

As most editors of vernacular texts, E.M. Jeffreys and M. Papathomopoulos had to face the cutting dilemma of choosing between a critical edition from all the manuscripts which aims to reconstruct the original authorial text, or using a base manuscript for their edition, with the readings of the other manuscripts in the apparatus. Having set out with divergent views on the subject, the editors finally agreed to follow M. Papathomopoulos' view of producing the edition, by establishing a *stemma codicum*. For some, including myself, the choice of aiming at a 'best manuscript' edition, would still be preferable (even if MS B, which would have seemed to be the best candidate, has lacunas), as it would provide the reader access to a particular version in its integrity, while it would allow for interesting comparisons between the different handlings of the text during its transmission (even more than one version could be used, in parallel or sequential format). The practical and theoretical problem encompasses a variety of issues; there are varying critical notions of textuality, authorship, and evaluation of manuscript transmission, so it would be futile (and impossible within the given limit) to get here into the details and arguments of a debate which will be re-fuelled on almost any similar occasion. It would therefore seem more appropriate to examine the result of the application of this method through the editorial practice.

As such, the approach of the editors often seems heavy-handed, although there is a great number of felicitous corrections. Without trying to focus exclusively on unfortunate decisions, the main objection raised concerns the choice of readings, where the *selectio* appears doubtful or subjective, or the correction unjustified.

Let me give an example which combines questions of textual criticism, editorial tactics, the use of parallels within a literary framework to assess the textual situation, as well as echoes of the problem of insecure dating.

1501-3 ἐπεὶ οἱ σοφοὶ εἰς τοὺς λόγους των τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἶπαν·
 Ὁ νοῦς φρονεῖ ὅπου σκοπεῖ τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιχειρεῖ ἀποσῶσαι.

1501 ἐπεὶ BX ἐπεὶν V || οἱ σοφοὶ εἰς τοὺς λόγους των ... εἶπαν
 Pap., cf. F 3646-50 Quar *ço nos diënt li autor: / Qui grant chose
 vuent envair, / la fin a qui'il en deit venir / Deit esguarder, se il est
 sage, / que n'en vienge honte e damages : ἡ (καὶ V om. B) σοφία
 (σοφίαν B) εἰς τοὺς λόγους των (B : της X om V) ... εἶπεν
 (λέγει B) BVX || **1502** ὅπου BV : ὅπου νὰ X || ἐπιχειρεῖ ἀποσῶσαι
 Pap., cf. 1578 : νὰ ἐπιχειρῇ ἀπὸ τότε BX νὰ ἐπιχειρίστη πώποτε
 V || In margine γνωμικόν B*

The correction ἀποσῶσαι by Papathomopoulos appears to bypass the stemmatic hierarchy that dictates the editorial principle, in favour of a personal solution, seemingly oblivious of the parallels in other vernacular texts (this intriguing parallel is, however, mentioned in the Introduction, lxvii). The supplementary evidence in this case comes from a parallel passage in *Livistros and Rodamne* (N 827-8, E 949-50, P 936-7, while V 805-7 offers a somewhat reworked phrasing), involving questions of interpretation and dating for the evaluation of this textual situation and consequent choice of reading (the dating of *Livistros* is still undetermined, but I would strongly favour a dating earlier than the *War of Troy*). Cf.

- Livistros* N 827-8 Ὁ νοῦς φρονεῖ ὅπου σκοπεῖ τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποχειρεῖ ἀπὸ τότες.
- Livistros* E 949-50 Ὁ νοῦς φρονεῖ τὸ νὰ σκοπῇ τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων
καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιχειρεῖ ἀπὸ τότε.
- Livistros* P 936-7 Ὁ νοῦς φρονεῖ ὅπου σκοπεῖ τὸ τέλος τῶν πραγμάτων
καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέλος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποχωρεῖ ἀπὸ τώρα.

There are also cases where the *selectio* is problematic and seems to depend on subjective preferences, as, for example, in v. 502, where ὅλος would be the obvious choice in terms of stemmatic priority, syntax and meaning:

- 501-2 παρακαλῶ σε τὰ πολλὰ νὰ μοῦ δεχθῇς τὸν ὄρκον,
λίξις σου νὰ γένωμαι ὅλου τοῦ ὀρίσμοῦ σου

502 ὅλου X : ὅλος ABE δι' ὅλου V

Moreover, the absence of a commentary is acutely felt in many instances, when the choice between variants, or a correction requires discussion and interpretation.

The editorial method used encompasses another problem. The reconstruction of the archetype and the use of the French text to determine editorial solutions is subject to the shortcomings of the edition of the *Roman de Troie* by L. Constans (1904-12). Moreover, as the editors of the Greek text admit in the Introduction 'one can draw no firm conclusion as to the position of the French exemplar used for the Greek text. The relevant reading in the apparatus is frequently attributed to representatives of several of the groups identified by Constans: it becomes difficult to disentangle the strands of the tradition and to trace which the Greek follows. At present therefore — and until the text of the *Roman de Troie* is re-examined — the affiliation of the French exemplar must remain unidentified'.

The study of the text is frustrated by the absence of a proper glossary or an index verborum. Given the sheer bulk of the text (not to mention the reading in the apparatus) the difficulty of compiling a full index glossary to be included in the same volume is understandable. The editors state that 'A complete index of the vocabulary of the *War of Troy* is enormous, and will appear in a separate volume. As an interim measure, this Glossary lists a selection of the less common items'. However, the interim glossary is but a meagre sample of the overwhelming volume of material that the text brings to the surface; moreover the choice of entries appears rather haphazard. It contains only a hundred precious entries; among

these we find rather commonplace words like δασοσκέπαστος, τολμηροκάρδιος, τορνεμένος, χλιμιντρίζω, ὠρδινιασμένος, which are either well attested by other sources or have a straightforward meaning. It can only be hoped that the next volume will not be late in appearing and that a computer generated concordance based on all the extant manuscripts will soon become available.

Was the *War of Troy* kissed back to life? The editorial method followed for the edition is certain to be the object of many a future discussion and provide ample ammunition for scholarly debate on the subject. Nevertheless, the text itself will and must generate further studies and the ensuing discussion will undoubtedly further the understanding of the period, as well as provide the opportunity to re-examine editorial processes and practices applied to vernacular texts.

Tina Lendari
University of Patras

CRITICAL STUDIES

Manuscript studies in the twentieth century: Kurt Weitzmann reconsidered¹

MARY-LYON DOLEZAL

Even when dealing with the remote past, the historian cannot be entirely objective. And in an account of his own experiences and reactions the personal factor becomes so important that it has to be extrapolated by a deliberate effort on the part of the reader.

Erwin Panofsky²

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, it is an appropriate time to consider the evolution of art-historical scholarship during this century; recent publications on this topic indicate its current interest.³ In particular, the discipline of manuscript studies, which has been flourishing and changing in its methodology over the last two decades,

1. I am especially grateful to Linda Seidel who supported this project from its beginning and who patiently read many versions of this article; her encouragement has been invaluable. I also would like to thank Leslie Brubaker, Alice Christ, Joseph Fracchia, Charles Lachman, Robert S. Nelson, David Olster, Stephen Zwirn, and the anonymous readers for their very helpful comments and advice at various stages. I dedicate this article to the memory of Kathleen J. Shelton who early on urged me to pursue this topic and who in a discussion on scholarship once said: 'Any investment of time and energy is worth it, for the best scholarship is at every moment self-conscious, self-critical, and razor sharp'.

2. Erwin Panofsky, 'Three Decades of Art History in the United States: Impressions of a Transplanted European', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Woodstock, N.Y. 1974) 321.

3. For example: M.A. Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1984); J. Hart, 'Erwin Panofsky and Karl Mannheim: A Dialogue on Interpretation', *Critical Inquiry* 19 (1993) 534-566; C.H. Smyth and P.M. Lukehart, eds., *The Early Years of Art History in the United States: Notes on Essays, Teaching, and Scholars* (Princeton 1993); T.F. Mathews, *Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton 1993); and a volume devoted to historiographical studies of Meyer Schapiro, *Oxford Art Journal* 17, no. 1 (1994).

deserves re-evaluation and assessment. Rumination on the past is a fundamental process in our attempts to define new approaches and necessary to the positioning of our own approaches in relationship to what preceded them, especially methodologies that had conspicuous impact on the history of the discipline.

My own discourse on the past concerns the contribution of Kurt Weitzmann (1904-1993), one of the pre-eminent manuscript scholars of this century. Weitzmann's prodigious productivity in the manuscript field began with his youthful article on the Paris Psalter and continued to the time of his death.⁴ In the span of his scholarly life, Weitzmann explored wide-ranging genres of manuscripts from the secular to the religious, including substantial publications on specific Old and New Testament books.⁵ Notable too in his pursuit of manuscript problems were his exhaustive travels, particularly to the monasteries of Mount Athos, resulting in an extensive photographic archive, his famous 'cage', which is still housed at Princeton University and recently replicated at Dumbarton Oaks. In sum, Weitzmann's vast array of manuscript publications constitutes a significant portion of this century's scholarship in that field and, at the very least, introduced considerable, not always accessible, material with which others have grappled from diverse points of view.

Kurt Weitzmann's oeuvre had its most influential effect in manuscript studies as it developed in the United States in part for the obvious reason that he taught at Princeton University for over thirty years, producing a long list of students who also pursued this field some of whom, such as George Galavaris and Herbert Kessler, absorbed a

4. K. Weitzmann, 'Der Pariser Psalter MS. Grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance', *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1929) 178-194; reprinted in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London 1980).

5. Weitzmann's vast bibliography on manuscripts is partially captured in an early collection of essays, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago 1971) 335-339 and more definitively in his festschrift, *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki (Princeton 1995) xv-xxiv.

number of the tenets of that approach in their early publications.⁶ Several of these students in turn became professors in institutions in North America; through their research and teaching they disseminated their mentor's approach and provided a forum for inquiry among scholars on that side of the Atlantic.⁷ The impact Weitzmann had on medieval research in general is further attested to by the publication of his mammoth festschrift containing essays by seventy scholars from twenty-one countries; sixteen of these are devoted to manuscript studies some by his former Princeton students.⁸

Nevertheless, Weitzmann's research has not been without its critics. Early in both of their scholarly lives, Hugo Buchthal (another influential manuscript scholar of this century) took exception to Weitzmann's explication of the Paris Psalter.⁹ Buchthal simultaneously proposed a divergent interpretation of this famous manuscript and initiated the polite disputation that would continue between these two scholars

6. These two students, Galavaris (taught in Canada at McGill University until his recent retirement) and Kessler (taught in the United States at the University of Chicago until the mid-1970s and since then at Johns Hopkins University), have produced an appreciable body of work in Byzantine and western Medieval manuscript studies, following Weitzmann's method. They each contributed major monographs which form part of the Princeton series on manuscript illumination: G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 6 (Princeton 1969) and H.L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 7 (Princeton 1977). Kessler later collaborated with Weitzmann on a monograph initiating (but to date it is still the only volume) a new series in Old Testament manuscript studies, *The Cotton Genesis. British Library Codex Cotton Otho B VI, The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint 1* (Princeton 1986).

7. Weitzmann's influence is discerned in the work of manuscript scholars not trained by him. For example, his method informs Anthony Cutler's early approach to manuscripts, see 'The Spencer Psalter: A Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Manuscript in the New York Public Library', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 23 (1974) 129-150, reprinted in idem, *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art* (London 1992). A Weitzmann student, Gary Vikan, has thoughtfully addressed the issues raised by his mentor, specifically considering Byzantine attitudes toward models and copying in his 'Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium', in *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, ed. K. Preciado, Studies in the History of Art 20 (Hanover and London 1989) 47-59.

8. *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*.

9. H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 2 (London 1938). Buchthal signalled his intention to take on Weitzmann's earlier study in his introduction (9-10).

throughout their careers. Other scholars have also engaged in critical discourse regarding Weitzmann's method in reviews of his publications or in their own work. For example, Christopher Walter, in a critique of George Galavaris' tome on the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus, examined his mentor's method that served as the foundation for Galavaris' approach to this genre of liturgical manuscripts.¹⁰ Robin Cormack cogently and more succinctly pointed out the pitfalls of Weitzmann's method in his review of *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela*.¹¹ As he noted, Weitzmann put his method to a severe test in his analysis of a manuscript from which he believed at least seventeen now lost manuscripts can be reconstructed because they were used in the creation of the picture cycle of this florilegium manuscript.¹² Annemarie Weyl Carr, in her review of the same monograph, also questioned Weitzmann's methodological assumptions and suggested new methods of inquiry are needed regarding cycles of illustration and models.¹³ Most recently, John Lowden has incorporated his query of Weitzmann's approach in his monograph on the Octateuchs, the manuscript genre that instigated Weitzmann's creation of a specific methodological approach to manuscript

10. C. Walter, 'Liturgy and the Illustration of Gregory of Nazianzen's Homilies: An Essay in Iconographical Methodology', *REB* 29 (1971) 183-212, especially 186-195, reprinted in idem, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (London 1977). Walter began his article by noting Weitzmann's belief that the illustrated lectionary provides the model for the images found in other liturgical texts, a hypothesis fundamental to Galavaris' study on the Gregory manuscripts. Walter was not to know at the time of the publication of his article that Weitzmann would never produce his promised monograph on Constantinopolitan lectionaries. I have taken up the problem of lectionaries in my own work.

11. K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus Graecus 923* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination 8, Princeton 1979) and R. Cormack's review in *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981) 170-172. He confronted similar issues briefly in his review of *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, by K. Weitzmann and H.L. Kessler, in *Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991) 315-316.

12. Cormack correctly stated, 'Yet how far the marginal illustrations in the Paris gr. 923 justify the reconstruction of vast cycles on the scale envisaged by Weitzmann is open to doubt. It would be incautious to write a history of Byzantine art with the assumption that early book illustration took on the rôle implied by Weitzmann' (review of *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela*, 171).

13. Review in *Art Bulletin* 65 (1983) 147-151.

illustration.¹⁴ It is ironic that despite working on the Octateuchs for most of his life, he never finished the monograph that began his long inquiry into and search for iconographical models.¹⁵

Notwithstanding the periodic critical scholarly rumblings concerning Weitzmann's manuscript research, his methodology nonetheless does merit more extended and close attention as part of a historiographical overview of his work. Whatever one's perspective on his methodology, it did have an impact on the development of manuscript studies in this century and Weitzmann's prolific publications cannot be dismissed without careful consideration, precisely because it invited such diverse reactions.¹⁶ In what follows, I reconsider his contribution in today's context and with an appreciative nod to those previous critics. It is not my intention to survey all of his work, but, as will be made evident below, to use his approach to the illustrated lectionary as a means to penetrating this scholar's genesis and agenda.

The recent posthumous publication of Weitzmann's autobiography, which presents his own view of his research and methodology and its impact, is further incentive to evaluate his role in the evolution of the discipline.¹⁷ The autobiography formulates a particularist historiographical view in its re-construction of the past and history

14. J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, Penn. 1992), particularly his chapter, 'Model, Source, Recension, Archetype' (79-104). He also questions some of the premises behind Weitzmann's and Kessler's monograph on the Cotton Genesis in 'Concerning the Cotton Genesis and other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis', *Gesta* 31 (1992) 40-53. L. Brubaker has summarised and, on some points, queried Lowden's inquiry in her state of the research article, 'Life Imitates Art: writings on Byzantine art history, 1991-1992', *BMGS* 17 (1993) 203-209.

15. Late in his life Weitzmann invited Massimo Bernabò to be his collaborator in order to complete this long-promised work. There is now some question whether this monograph will ever be published.

16. Lowden noted as well that 'art historians have shown a marked reluctance to formulate alternatives. Some have followed his lead enthusiastically and have found the 'Weitzmann Method' helpful to their studies. Others, while not accepting his approach, have followed different strategies tacitly, as though the end result (...) would demonstrate the validity of the means without the need for further justification', *The Octateuchs*, 7-8.

17. K. Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America: The Memoirs of an Art Historian* (Munich 1994). Published after Weitzmann's death in 1993, it apparently was not edited for publication. I would like to thank Susan Boyd for making her copy available to me.

of scholarship that is in itself problematic. This lengthy tome presents a remarkable array of details concerning his life as a scholar: his years in Germany, his life at Princeton, his travels, and his publications. Yet, despite the copious detail, the autobiography does not incorporate a more interpretive or reflective view of Weitzmann's scholarly life. It remains silent on various significant issues, leaving the audience to puzzle over the specifics of his evolution as a scholar as well as the impetus for some of his personal decisions, especially those factors which prompted his departure from Germany and immigration to the United States where he would become a key figure in American manuscript studies.

His memoir also speaks to the nature of autobiography as a literary form and how this tradition suits the recounting of the academic life and work.¹⁸ It compels the reader to determine the value of the detail bestowed and the implication of the detail concealed in order to explicate what interests us the most: how Weitzmann came to generate his famous method, how he came to conceive of the creation of images in a textual context. Weitzmann's autobiography, then, presents a more recent screen through which we may proceed to a reconstruction of the history of his ideas, but it occupies a lesser position among the other evidence available to establish Weitzmann's position in the history of twentieth-century scholarship. My study of Weitzmann will examine how his scholarship originated out of a rich intellectual context both as a young scholar trained in Germany and, more importantly, after his immigration to the United States. More broadly, Weitzmann created his methodology in the United States against a rich interdisciplinary background and among a large community of scholars, weaving together contemporary trends in textual and religious studies; his story warrants attention for its historical interest as well

18. A different kind of recent academic autobiography is Alice Kaplan, *French Lessons* (Chicago 1993). There is a vast array of literature on autobiography as a literary form, for example: K. Ashley, L. Gilmore, and G. Peters, eds., *Autobiography & Postmodernism* (Amherst 1994); J. Sturrock, *The Language of Autobiography: Studies in the First Person Singular* (Cambridge and New York 1993); and P.J. Eakin, *Touching the World: Reference in Autobiography* (Princeton 1992); all have additional bibliography.

as its relation to current theories and interest in text-image issues especially in the United States.

The wider historiographical context of his contribution to manuscript studies is approached through the narrower lens of his work on Byzantine lectionaries, the liturgical form of the Gospel book used in Orthodox liturgy. Weitzmann early on had set up the lectionary as a primary and rich model for the illustration of various liturgical books, imposing on that genre the burden of precipitating new cycles of manuscript illustration.¹⁹ As we shall see, his deliberate construction of its significance was conceived in tandem with the development of his method, and his research of lectionary text and image in turn informed his construction of that method. Weitzmann's work on this manuscript type thus serves as a useful paradigm for grasping the consequences of the application of his method. Although he investigated various types of manuscripts over his long career, an analysis of Weitzmann's approach to illustrated lectionaries will provide insight into how he created his oft-applied method.

Foreground

Although Weitzmann was influenced by his education and mentors in Germany, it is evident that he was also influenced by scholarship as it was developing in the United States when he arrived in 1935. In his search for a suitable approach to the study of illuminated manuscripts, Weitzmann looked to classical philology as a source for the formation of his pictorial theory. He would also have perceived the value of the research conducted by the textual scholars in New Testament Studies at the University of Chicago beginning in the 1930s, since these scholars were embarked on a full-scale study of the lectionary, the same manuscript type that had captured the Weitzmann's attention in those very years.²⁰ Indeed, he published his most expansive lectionary study in concert with this same group of

19. Walter suggested his own scepticism concerning Weitzmann's assumptions concerning lectionaries, 'Liturgy and the Illustration of Gregory Nazianzen's Homilies', 183.

20. M.-L. Dolezal, 'The Elusive Quest for the "Real Thing": The Chicago Lectionary Project Thirty Years On', *Gesta* 35 (1996) 128-141.

University of Chicago textual scholars.²¹ The methodology Weitzmann used to decipher the art-historical elements of all manuscripts is in fact dependent on the methodology used by his contemporary textual scholars in New Testament studies.

As Panofsky, among many others, has noted, autobiography is a construct rather than a mirror of the past, and we cannot depend completely on Weitzmann himself to articulate the sources or important influences on the development of his scholarship. If Weitzmann is not the most revealing source for either the development of his scholarship or for the designation of his own sources, he is hardly unusual among scholars as they review their past or that of others close to them. Anthony Grafton perceptively made this observation in a lengthy review article:

But it is even harder to learn anything useful from the prefaces and open letters in which scholars expressed their motives, explained the meaning of their own works, and evaluated those of others. The contents of such works are severely restricted by the conventions of the *ars epistolica* — or, in more recent times, by the conventions of academic discourse. For the most part they consist in a *bricolage* of platitudes and stereotyped formulas to which it is nearly impossible to attach any specific meaning. Similarly, scholars' assessments of one another generally take the form of extravagant praise or wild abuse; in place of analysis one often finds merely a set of wildly exaggerated epithets.²²

Grafton's point is well-taken. He speaks of the 'task of decoding' which aptly describes the process of analysing the contribution of scholars, such as Weitzmann, who remained fairly silent about their evolution and whose students advance a similar construction of their mentor.²³ For example, Weitzmann did allude to the Chicago manuscript

21. K. Weitzmann, 'The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations', in M.M. Parvis and A.P. Wikgren, eds., *New Testament Manuscript Studies* (Chicago 1950) 151-174; reprinted in Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, 247-270.

22. A. Grafton, 'The Origin of Scholarship', *The American Scholar* 48 (1979) 260.

23. In his autobiography, Weitzmann presented many details of his life as a scholar: his teachers, his colleagues, his students, his travels, and his publications, but he does not expand upon the specifics of the genesis of his scholarship. Contrast this autobiography with that of Richard Krautheimer, 'And Gladly Did He Learn and Gladly Teach', in *Rome: Tradition, Innovation and Renewal* (Victoria, B.C. 1991) 93-126.

project in a 1947 article reviewing the then current state of Byzantine scholarship,²⁴ but he was unspecific about details of influence, if any, from the research conducted by the Chicago scholars. He did, however, certify the connection between Princeton's instigation and development of its own manuscript studies project, and Chicago's New Testament and lectionary studies projects.²⁵ To understand the genesis of Weitzmann's influential method, it is necessary to reconstruct his background and the influences to which he may have been subject before exploring the context in which Weitzmann formulated his methodology as set forth in *Roll and Codex*, his study outlining the origins of book illumination.²⁶

Weitzmann's Genealogy and the Genesis of his Method

Weitzmann had been trained almost entirely in Germany and Austria (Münster, Würzburg, Vienna, and Berlin, where he studied the longest and received his doctorate) before emigrating to the United States. He studied the Classics as well as Medieval art and would have been cognisant of the textual theories current in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It was not until after he left Germany, however, that he published his detailed outline of the methodology he believed would be most useful for the study of illuminated manuscripts. He has stated himself that it was his collaboration with A.M. Friend in the manuscript seminar at Princeton (1935-1945) that inspired his development of a method for the study of manuscript illustration and resulted in *Roll and Codex*.²⁷ Moreover, at the time he arrived in the

For an overview of Weitzmann's career by some of his students, see H.L. Kessler, 'Kurt Weitzmann', *DOP* 47 (1993) xix-xxiii; G. Galavaris, 'Kurt Weitzmann', *Byzantina* 17 (1994) 577-579 and his introduction to *Sailing with Byzantium*, 9-23; and D. Mouriki's preface to *Byzantine East, Latin West* xi-xii.

24. K. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Art and Scholarship in America', *American Journal of Archaeology* 51 (1947) 394-418. This retrospective view was inspired by the Princeton Bicentennial Conference, 'Scholarship and Research in the Arts'.

25. *Ibid.*, 412.

26. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 2 (Princeton 1947; 2nd ed. 1970).

27. Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium*, 108-109 and 149. Weitzmann was also invited to give two lectures at the third annual Dumbarton Oaks Symposium (1943) where he presented his ideas that were developing in the Princeton manuscript seminar.

United States, in 1935, New Testament textual criticism was flourishing; thus his formation of a methodology that was based on that of textual criticism seems quite opportune. For the textual critics at this time, stemmatics or a genealogical method was a popular system for the editing of the New Testament text. It is significant that for his own textually grounded method, Weitzmann adopted one particular variation of the genealogical method devised by F.J.A. Hort in a two-volume publication of the Greek New Testament, but this selection reveals little concerning his thought process.²⁸ Hort, in fact, was not the creator of this system. The genealogical method was very much a Germanic contribution although adopted and elaborated by British textual scholars. Scholarship concerning classical texts and New Testament texts in nineteenth-century Germany and Great Britain was guided by the philological school of thought. The desire to establish textual versions as close to the original as possible necessitated the creation of an objective, even scientific method that allowed the 'correct' text to be constructed on the authority of an orderly procedure. The Germans did not exactly invent the genealogical method, but they did systematise it. The hero of this method was Karl Lachmann, professor of classics in Berlin from 1825 to 1851. According to the British classicist, John Edwin Sandys, Lachmann was the 'true founder of a strict and methodological system of textual criticism'.²⁹ Lachmann laid down specific principles to determine the earlier forms of a text

28. B.F. Wescott and F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in Original Greek*, 2 vols. (New York 1882) 2:19-72. The chapter on methodology was written by Hort alone.

29. J.E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 3, *The Eighteenth Century in Germany, and the Nineteenth Century in Europe and the United States of America* (Cambridge 1908; repr., New York and London 1967) 130. Lachmann specialised mainly in the Latin poets but also did major work in New Testament studies. In fact, he produced an edition of the New Testament, employing his carefully developed system of textual criticism, which, ironically, discredited and rejected the *Textus Receptus* (what was considered the commonly received standard text upon which the first printed editions of the Greek New Testament were based) and was highly controversial in its time. See R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300-1850* (Oxford 1976) 190 and B. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (New York and Oxford 1992) 124-125 for further discussion of Lachmann's role in New Testament criticism. Metzger (119-146) gives a brief summary of textual criticism from the late eighteenth century to the present as it is related to New Testament texts.

and to restore it through emendation to the earlier form. His genealogical method has remained influential not only in philological studies but in other fields such as art history, as we have seen, and literature.³⁰ Furthermore Hort, ostensibly the source for Weitzmann's methodology, paid tribute to Lachmann who clearly had laid the foundation for Hort's interpretation of the genealogical method. Hort admired the scientific basis of Lachmann's method in particular and certainly the belief that genealogical methodology was objective and even scientific was a factor in its attraction to Weitzmann.³¹ Yet Weitzmann, who was trained at Berlin, home of Lachmann and his method, did not mention Lachmann. It is possible that Weitzmann was acquainted with the genealogical method before he arrived in the United States but his use of Hort suggests that his choice of method was made very much in the particular context of textual scholarship as it was practiced in the United States.

But how was Weitzmann attracted to textual criticism as a starting point for his manuscript research? Examination of the nature of his

30. Lachmann, however, by no means asserted that the edition he had produced was the *original* text of the New Testament. His intention was to produce a text that was in use in the eastern church in the fourth century. It is noteworthy that Lachmann, the founder of modern genealogical methodology, believed that recreation of the authorial original would be a hopeless endeavour. Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 124-125. For an analysis of Lachmann by a German scholar of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ed. H. Lloyd-Jones, trans. A. Harris (Baltimore 1982) 130-132. The genealogical method and all its features are clearly outlined by P. Maas in *Textual Criticism*, trans. B. Flower (Oxford 1958). More recently, M.L. West has provided an even more propaedeutic set of guidelines for this method intended as a replacement for the Maas version, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart 1973).

31. Hort asserted: 'A new period began in 1831, when for the first time a text was constructed directly from the ancient documents without the intervention of any printed edition, and when the first systematic attempt was made to substitute scientific method for arbitrary choice in the discrimination of various readings'. Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, 13. It should be noted that Lachmann's method continued to dominate textual criticism of all types but especially classical studies in Germany from 1850 to the present. See A. Grafton, 'From Politian to Pasquali' *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977) 171-176. In this discussion/review of E.J. Kenney, *The Classical Text. Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book*, Grafton analysed Lachmann's method in the context of the history of textual criticism and the history of scholarship in general. He emphasised also the historical character of Lachmann's method.

instruction in Germany, specifically in Berlin, is necessary to clarify the sources of Weitzmann's method. His mentor at Berlin, Adolph Goldschmidt, who pursued many periods, media, and aspects of medieval art, did not develop one absolute method, nor did he compel his students to follow his approach, according to Weitzmann.³² Further, Goldschmidt's approach to medieval art was object-oriented, with greater emphasis on stylistic criticism although he understood the importance of iconographical and documentary approaches as well.³³ Under Goldschmidt's influence, Weitzmann certainly made contributions in the field of stylistic criticism in his early publications, but chose to pursue a more iconographically grounded method after he had emigrated.³⁴

More recently, Weitzmann repeated, in much expanded form, his earlier analysis of his mentor, Goldschmidt.³⁵ This tribute to Goldschmidt,

32. K. Weitzmann, 'Adolph Goldschmidt', *College Art Journal* 4 (1944) 50.

33. For a recent historiographical analysis of Goldschmidt, see K. Brush, *The Shaping of Art History: Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art* (New York and Cambridge 1996). As Brush states, 'The critical eye, according to Goldschmidt, was informed not only by practice but also by a vast store of firsthand knowledge, which enabled the art historian to go beyond mere description and to locate the object within its historical context. At the same time, keen visual analysis of stylistic features allowed the art historian to sort, analyse and classify groups of anonymously produced works and to perceive developmental sequences linking them' (92). She suggests that Goldschmidt was open to the idea that his hypotheses might be revised and his work on any monument may not be the last.

34. Among his earliest publications were two catalogues of Byzantine ivories on which he collaborated with Goldschmidt, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1930-1934). He studied the decoration of Byzantine manuscripts from a stylistic point of view in *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1935). In this volume he tried to arrange manuscripts according to their style of ornament and miniature. This is not so far removed from his later iconographical research — where he attempted to categorise manuscripts or their miniatures in iconographic families. Iconographic criteria were substituted for stylistic criteria. It is noteworthy that in his obituary for Goldschmidt, Weitzmann praised his mentor for *not* enforcing a particular methodology or trying to establish a school of research.

35. K. Weitzmann, *Adolph Goldschmidt und die Berliner Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin 1985). For another view of Goldschmidt see *Adolph Goldschmidt zum Gedächtnis 1863-1944* (Hamburg 1963). This book contains short tributes by various scholars and also a bibliography of Goldschmidt's work. Goldschmidt's annotated memoirs have been published in M. Roosen-Runge-Mollwo, ed., *Adolph Goldschmidt, 1863-1944. Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin 1989).

more a biographical discussion of the man than an historiographical review of the Berlin school or of methodology, argued that the main contribution of Goldschmidt to art history was his tolerance of various ideas and methods. As in his earlier tribute, Weitzmann asserted that Goldschmidt chose not to impose a single system or approach on the study of art history. Weitzmann emphasised, primarily, his relationship with Goldschmidt and provided limited insight into his training while a student in Berlin.³⁶ Most revealing were the seminars he attended in wide-ranging fields. Still, much of the tribute to Goldschmidt was a litany of his students and their dissertation titles emphasising Goldschmidt's receptivity to various topics and methods and his ability to advise in varied fields and periods.³⁷ Weitzmann also considered Goldschmidt's role in the development of the study of art history at the University of Berlin. At the time of Goldschmidt's appointment there, the two other professors' expertise was in the Italian Renaissance. Goldschmidt was able to heighten interest and specialisation in medieval studies and eventually the department expanded to include other fields, also outside of the mainstream.³⁸ Ultimately, however, Weitzmann's tribute to his mentor, which held the promise of revelation of Weitzmann's scholarly initiation, remains disappointingly unspecific about the more profound aspects of what he calls 'Goldschmidt's Methode'.³⁹

What can be determined is that as much as Goldschmidt may have encouraged multiple approaches, his research and analysis of objects was heavily formalistic in nature. Likewise, his colleagues in Berlin,

36. Weitzmann, *Adolph Goldschmidt*, 15-17, 21, 25-27. See also Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium* with its description of his student years in Berlin (38-39 and 45-57) and the years in Berlin (1929-1935) after he received his doctorate (59-82); and K. Sandin and K. Van Ausdall, 'An Interview with Kurt Weitzmann', *Rutgers Art Review* 5 (1984) 71-85, for a similar, though condensed summary of his scholarly career.

37. Weitzmann provided a similar litany of his own students and their dissertation topics in his autobiography.

38. Weitzmann, *Adolph Goldschmidt*, 24-28. According to Weitzmann, Goldschmidt exhorted his students to study various fields, particularly classics and classical archaeology, believing that a strong background in the ancients provided a good basis for the investigation of medieval art, among other fields. Weitzmann, as is clear from both his statement and his scholarship, took this advice to heart.

39. *Ibid.*, 12.

according to Weitzmann's brief summary, followed a formalistically based method. Weitzmann too, in his catalogues of ivories and his early monograph concerning ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine manuscripts demonstrated interest in formalistic concerns.⁴⁰

Weitzmann revealed, in his 1947 review of Byzantine scholarship in the United States, contemporary with the publication of *Roll and Codex*, a slight intimation of his inspiration.⁴¹ Embedded in this lengthy survey article of the history of collecting Byzantine art in America and the development of formal venues for the study of Byzantine art here and elsewhere, are brief statements suggestive of his purpose. Weitzmann emphasised the crucial importance of manuscripts, particularly for the full comprehension of medieval art and, further, clearly stated his own view (also reflected in later publications) that the central contribution of this art form is in the realm of iconography. He argued that books have mainly been collected for their texts, and projected the ideal union of text and artistic decoration as the most fruitful object of scholarly pursuit.⁴² He concluded by suggesting a break with historical research dominated by formalistic considerations.⁴³ Thus, Weitzmann set his own course apart from his training at Berlin, which had been oriented toward formalistic analysis of the object; Goldschmidt's chief contribution to Weitzmann's development as a scholar was not encumbering him with an absolute or stringent methodology.

40. *Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen* and *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*. Weitzmann's investigation and classification of the ornament and illumination of Byzantine manuscripts is closely allied to Goldschmidt's method evident in his ivory catalogues: formulating groups of objects according to stylistic affinity and hypothesising regional or scriptorium origins to match stylistic likeness of objects. Other students of Goldschmidt in their research on Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts, for example, pursued the same or similar procedure of analysis and codification.

41. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Art and Scholarship', 394-418.

42. *Ibid.*, 398-399.

43. *Ibid.*, 418. Although he began to distance himself from the formalistically based method of his mentor, Goldschmidt, in an interesting generational leap, he in fact employed that of one of his mentor's mentors, Anton Springer (Weitzmann does not make this connection, however). Springer relied on a philological method for classifying manuscripts into genealogical relationships according to iconography as well as style. See K. Brush, *The Shaping of Art History* 26-32 for a discussion of Springer.

Weitzmann's decision to leave Germany for Princeton in 1935 further influenced his inclination toward a more strictly iconographic approach in his research. It would be unwise, however, to romanticise his departure from Berlin as symbolic of a true philosophical break, for political circumstances must have been a motivating factor for leaving Germany.⁴⁴ However, on this issue, Weitzmann remained virtually silent in his autobiography. He referred briefly to the situation in Germany, his distaste for Hitler's regime, and his refusal to be indoctrinated in Nazi ideology as required to have a teaching position, yet he characterised his decision to leave Germany at greater length in terms of his scholarship and the offer he received to join the manuscript project coordinated by art historians at Princeton. He did not suggest that he or his family might have had more critical reasons to leave Germany.⁴⁵ In any case, Weitzmann chose to join the members of the art department at Princeton who at this time were pursuing research in medieval manuscript illumination and developing a strong programme in Early Christian and Byzantine art. Further, the principal emphasis at Princeton was on iconographical studies, promoted by Charles Rufus Morey and Albert M. Friend. As Weitzmann noted, Morey had been occupied throughout his life with analysis of Christian iconography and was instrumental in establishing the Index of Christian Art at Princeton, the ultimate iconographic tool.⁴⁶ Weitzmann stated that this pre-occupation with iconography:

44. For Weitzmann's comments on the situation in Germany in the 1930s, see *Sailing with Byzantium*, 77-82.

45. Weitzmann was careful to repeat several times that he was not a Jew and this is also reported in two of his obituaries (see footnote 23). In a puzzling omission in his auto-history, he did not mention that his wife is Jewish (the scholar Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler); he only stated that she joined him in Princeton, three years after he went there (1938), *Sailing with Byzantium*, 77-82, 126. Weitzmann's selective history itself addressed the nature of autobiography, what its purpose is and what it reveals or does not reveal about the author. Frank Kermode, in his memoir, *Not Entitled* (New York 1995), contributed an adroit and sympathetic discussion of the nature of autobiography (153-169). He professed: 'Writing truthfully of one's life therefore requires what may seem to be a scandalous breach of the promise to be truthful. And it can be further argued, even more disconcertingly, that in the ordinary course of his written narrative, as of the interminable day-to-day account he gives himself of himself, the autobiographer will remember only in order to forget what he cannot bear to remember' (156). See also footnote 18.

46. K. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Art and Scholarship in America', 411.

... led Morey and some of his students and colleagues, to the realisation that the chief medium in which iconography was invented, through which it spread and in which the most precise methods of its study could be developed was that of illuminated manuscripts.⁴⁷

The investigation of manuscript illumination was likewise augmented by the commitment to organised publications devoted to manuscripts. First, there was the series intended to concentrate on manuscripts of the Septuagint. Weitzmann was brought to Princeton to work on the Octateuchs (a project begun by Morey), a topic he had already begun to pursue and which he continued for the rest of his life.⁴⁸ A formal agreement was made with the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature at the University of Chicago to publish illuminated New Testament manuscripts.⁴⁹ A third series was created, titled *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*. The first volume of this series was Goldschmidt's last work, published a few years after his death.⁵⁰ This short monograph on a manuscript of Aesop's Fables is intriguing because in it are found the rudimentary beginnings to Weitzmann's methodology. Goldschmidt posed the problem of textual tradition versus transmission of pictorial representations, suggesting although not elaborating, a connection between text and image. He searched for and discussed possible models for the Aesop manuscripts, and considered the place of origin for one Aesop manuscript and its (now lost) Roman archetype. However, Goldschmidt's

47. *Ibid.*, 411. Weitzmann again reviewed the history of Byzantine scholarship in America focusing exclusively on Princeton in 'The Contribution of the Princeton University Department of Art and Archaeology to the Study of Byzantine Art', in *Byzantium at Princeton: Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Princeton University*, ed. Slobodan Ćurčić and Archer St. Clair (Princeton 1986) 11-30.

48. See footnote 15.

49. *Ibid.*, 412. Weitzmann referred to the following publications from the University of Chicago: E.J. Goodspeed, D.W. Riddle, and H.R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, 3 vols. (Chicago 1932) and E.C. Colwell and H.R. Willoughby, *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, 2 vols. (Chicago 1936). This again indicates that Weitzmann was in close contact with the New Testament textual critics at the University of Chicago. Colwell and Riddle were the instigators of the lectionary project there, begun just before Weitzmann arrived in the United States and in full operation by the time his review article was published.

50. A. Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus and Related Manuscripts* (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 1, Princeton 1947).

analysis here tends to be stylistic in orientation, even though he did examine iconography. His study is a less systematic analysis of manuscripts and models than will be detected in his student Weitzmann's research. The second volume in the Princeton manuscript series was Weitzmann's methodological tour de force, *Roll and Codex*, which represents the culmination of Weitzmann's journey into iconographical studies.⁵¹ Whereas in Berlin, the chief concern was in organising manuscripts into families according to stylistic criteria, particularly true of Weitzmann's colleagues working on Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts, in Princeton the mission was iconography. What Weitzmann brought from Berlin was the ability to classify manuscripts and other objects based on style; at Princeton he developed a new system of classification for manuscripts based on iconography.

Weitzmann and Philology

Exploration of Weitzmann's application of text-critical methodology is essential because he developed his own methodological system for all genres of illustrated manuscripts in relation to it. In addition, to understand his approach to the lectionary, it is necessary to return to the original statement of purpose, his own prolegomenon to the study of illustrated manuscripts published in 1947.⁵² Once his methodology and the influence of textual criticism is established, a more comprehensive analysis will be undertaken in order to show the penetration of text-critical methodology into other fields, contemporary with its adoption by art history. In this context, then, Weitzmann's discussion of lectionaries can be better examined.

Weitzmann summarised the text-critical foundation of his theory in the brief chapter of *Roll and Codex* titled 'The Relation Between

51. Weitzmann decided that he needed to publish a methodological statement and other studies on other manuscripts before finishing his investigation of the Octateuchs, *Sailing with Byzantium*, 97. See K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll, A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 3 (Princeton 1948) and idem, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela*.

52. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*. In the second edition (1970), Weitzmann included a few revisions with addenda which are comprised mostly of new bibliography and clarification of some points. Useful is Weitzmann's list of all the reviews of his original publication (225).

Text Criticism and Picture Criticism'.⁵³ As seems typical of Weitzmann, he limited reference to the texts consulted to a sole footnote. There he referred to a chapter on the methodology of New Testament textual criticism in Westcott and Hort's two volume publication of the Greek New Testament.⁵⁴ Whether this was the only source Weitzmann consulted is unclear. Nonetheless, in his autobiography, he mentioned the encouragement by his Princeton colleague Albert M. Friend leading him into extensive investigation of classical texts and biblical criticism and he noted Friend's acquisition of 'every philological publication I needed for the manuscript room'.⁵⁵ Later in the autobiography, Weitzmann indicated the influence of C.R. Gregory, who was one of the first textual critics to try to establish the importance of the lectionary text. But it is Hort's method that is transferred to Weitzman's 'picture criticism'.⁵⁶ As we have seen, Hort's methodological survey, written in the late nineteenth century, was certainly not the first text-critical statement of its kind. Yet, the fact that Weitzmann selected this particular statement of method written for New Testament criticism may not be insignificant. Since Weitzmann indicated Hort as a source for his method, it is necessary to review the text-critical tenets defined by Hort.

Hort asserted at the beginning of his method chapter that the foremost principles of textual criticism are the same for all texts.⁵⁷ He proceeded first to describe critical analysis of single texts. This he termed 'Internal Evidence of Readings' which Hort divided into two forms; the first, Intrinsic Probability, concerns the text as it relates to the author. Following this form of analysis, the critic compares two or more readings of the same text and determines which is closest to the author's style in terms of grammar and sentence structure. This is an intuitive judgment by the critic and is subject to dispute.⁵⁸ The

53. *Ibid.*, 182-192.

54. See footnote 28.

55. Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium*, 108-109.

56. *Ibid.*, 446. See C.R. Gregory *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig 1900). Gregory also created the numbering system for lectionaries that is still used by textual scholars.

57. Westcott and Hort, *New Testament in Greek*, 19. The full impact of his statement implied that New Testament criticism is dependent on classical textual criticism.

58. *Ibid.*, 20-22.

second, Transcriptional Probability, involves analysis of the text according to how it was copied. The critic searches for corruptions and errors in the text that were perpetrated by the scribe while copying the text. Presumably, determination of scribal errors can be more objective than determination of an author's stylistic idiosyncrasies. Thus the search for and correction of scribal errors which find their way into texts as they are copied over and over is a crucial aspect of the textual critic's work.⁵⁹

The critic must then judge and characterise the collection of documents representing the text, Hort's Internal Evidence of Documents. This includes dating of documents but also comparing documents according to their quality of text and determining within each document its good and bad sections of text. Further, the use of more than one exemplar per document must be considered. It cannot be assumed that a particular text has been copied from one exemplar or, if copied from a single text, that the textual model was copied from a single exemplar. This irregularity of textual transmission indicates the lack of homogeneity that occurs within various texts, the inclusion of different lines of transmission within a text, and the resultant difficulty in determining the original form of a text.⁶⁰ The next step, according to Hort, is no longer to study the documents individually but to arrange them in relation to each other. The multiple examples of a text are not independent units but must be connected together into a grand scheme or stemma.⁶¹ The object is to trace the transmission of the various documents and to establish the position of these documents in a tree of transmission. The textual critic would then be in a better position to determine the authorial original, distinguishing it from its corrupted descendants.⁶² This is what is known as the genealogical method. Hort succinctly described the method:

59. *Ibid.*, 22-30.

60. *Ibid.*, 30-39.

61. Hort explicitly stated, in what he termed his second principle of textual criticism, that 'all trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history'. (40). Their history, for Hort, is the sum of their diverse relationships best illustrated by a family tree.

62. *Ibid.*, 39-40.

The proper method of Genealogy consists, it will be seen, in the more or less complete recovery of the texts of successive ancestors by analysis and comparison of the varying texts of their respective descendants, each ancestral text so recovered being in its turn used, in conjunction with other similar texts, for the recovery of the text of a yet earlier common ancestor. The preservation of a comparatively small number of documents would probably suffice for the complete restoration of an autograph text (...) by genealogy alone, without the need of other kinds of evidence, provided that the documents preserved were adequately representative of different ages and different lines of transmission. This condition however is never fulfilled.⁶³

What the genealogical method does is provide a rational set of regulations to guide the textual critic through the documents. Presumably, it objectifies the process of distinguishing 'true' readings from corrupt ones. The subjective judgment of the textual critic is distanced from the documents. Further analysis of a text through its various manifestations should bring the critic closer to the autograph text, if not to it absolutely.⁶⁴ However, Hort acknowledged that even the most systematic method of classification of documents to determine the authorial original must resort eventually to the judgment of the critic. According to Hort, this is not a failure of method and the textual decisions made by the critic are better informed by the strenuous application of it.⁶⁵ Hort also stressed repeatedly that the genealogical method applied to the documents of a text could lead the critic only so far. The re-creation of the autograph, in its entirety, can only be accomplished if that autograph is extant; the lost original can at most be approximated through careful utilisation of the method.⁶⁶ Westcott

63. *Ibid.*, 57.

64. Hort outlined the genealogical method, step by step, instructing textual critics both in the method of determining genealogical relationships between documents and in the procedure of application of genealogy in various cases. See 39-59 for his detailed discussion.

65. *Ibid.*, 65-66.

66. Hort stated this principle subtly in the section quoted above (57) and again in his discussion of the applications of genealogy (53-59). Finally, in the concluding section of his chapter on method, Hort cautioned: 'The utmost result that can be obtained under this condition is the discovery of what is relatively original: whether the readings thus relatively original were also the readings of the autograph is another question, which can never be answered in the affirmative with absolute decision except where the autograph itself is extant, but which admits of approximative answers varying enormously in certainty according to the nature of the documentary evidence for the text generally' (66).

and Hort applied this method in their quest to establish an edition of the Greek New Testament; moreover, as we shall see, it was the basis of the method used by the lectionary textual critics at the University of Chicago.

Weitzmann perceived the value of the genealogical method, as practiced by textual critics in their quest for authorial originals, for analysis of illuminated manuscripts. In what can be considered, for its time, a brilliant insight, Weitzmann connected text and image. Manuscript texts had been systematically studied and classified and had been considered important to the history of civilisation. Likewise, Weitzmann believed that manuscript illumination was the key source for the invention of images.⁶⁷ Because the images were invented for the text and both formed a whole — that is, the book — might not images be transmitted to successive generations following a process similar to the transmission of texts? Weitzmann proposed that this was so and proceeded to work out a theoretical schema.

Weitzmann first compared text and image. The latter, he argued, is formed of two parts, the content or iconography — which is equivalent to the readings of the text — and style, equivalent to palaeography. Unlike the text, however, the image's components are virtually inseparable. Whereas palaeographical style does not affect the content of the text, the iconography of an image, Weitzmann noted, can be changed through stylistic variations.⁶⁸ This was a safety mechanism that he instituted. It places partial blame for deviations in images on style, while iconography remains, like the text, a purer element. Further, Weitzmann's interpretation of textual criticism is noteworthy. He stated:

In textual criticism it is possible to reconstruct a text in its purity so nearly completely that disputed and unclear readings remain a negligible portion of the whole text. Hort, for instance, in his introduction to the New Testament, estimated that of the New Testament, which is one of the most accurately transmitted texts, seven-eighths are virtually accepted as correctly restored; furthermore, that in the remaining eighth part, many differences in the readings are comparatively trivial, so that the proportion of variations which are really

67. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Art and Scholarship', 318.

68. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 182.

subject to doubt amount to one sixtieth. In pictorial criticism, however, the penetration of style into iconography prevents the reconstruction of even a single picture of a large cycle in its absolute purity. One can only try to extract iconographic features from stylistic ones with varying degrees of accuracy.⁶⁹

This is a very telling statement. It indicates, first, that like the members of the lectionary project at the University of Chicago, Weitzmann accepted the notion that the methodology of textual criticism to which he was attracted can actually re-create a close approximation to the lost original text and that, in fact, the textual critics of the New Testament had achieved just that. This is an overstatement of the achievements of textual criticism.⁷⁰ Yet full acceptance of the tenets of genealogical textual criticism was necessary in order for Weitzmann to construct an argument for the suitability of this methodology in the analysis of manuscript illumination.

If the object in textual criticism is to re-create the original form of the text, the aim in the study of the transmission of miniatures, according to Weitzmann, is to discover what for him was the analogue in the visual sphere, the 'iconographically purest version of the archetype'.⁷¹ Changes to the iconographically pure image would be equivalent to errors or corruptions in the text. Weitzmann cleverly observed that whereas textual corruptions are an unacceptable tainting of the authorial original, iconographic corruptions can bring positive, even creative alteration of the 'pure' archetype.⁷² It is clear Weitzmann anticipated the most obvious problem with equating text and image. In theory, there is an original form of a text by each particular author,

69. *Ibid.*

70. One cannot entirely fault Weitzmann for this since his contemporaries in textual criticism were also overstating their achievements; see Dolezal, 'Elusive Quest for the "Real Thing"'. Furthermore, Weitzmann exaggerated Hort's claims concerning the potential for establishing a close facsimile of the autograph text. Hort warned that textual criticism, and the genealogical method specifically, could achieve only partial success. See footnote 66.

71. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 183.

72. Weitzmann's exploration of pictorial theory and methodology was more prudent than his application of it. In his subsequent studies of manuscripts of various types, he was less tolerant of iconographic deviations from the 'pure' archetype whether caused by stylistic change or creative input from the artist as he became more concerned with re-creating the hypothesised iconographically correct original.

but illustrations of texts are essentially different. Texts, presumably, could be illustrated or interpreted diversely and any number of illustrations could suffice. The artist or artists are not equivalent to the author. Despite Weitzmann's acknowledgement of the differences between creation of text as opposed to creation of images illustrating texts, he had to establish other assumptions as facts in order to employ a text-critical process to explicate the creation of textual images. This he did in the chapters preceding his explanation of methodology. For every text, he believed, a very large number of illustrations is hypothesised; for every incident described in a text, an image was created. All iconographic possibilities were conceived in the hypothetical archetype.⁷³ This assumption of densely illustrated archetypes of classical and biblical texts allowed the utilisation of text-critical methodology to classify the descendants of the 'pure' archetype.

Once he had clarified the similarities (and differences) between textual criticism and picture criticism as he perceived them, Weitzmann then explained how the text-critical method could be imposed on images and their transmission. He relied partially on Hort's description and terminology as previously outlined. Intrinsic Probability (or intuitive judgment of the critic) and Transcriptional Probability (or determination of corruptions and errors in the text) were concepts that could be easily transferred to picture criticism. The image iconographically closest to the text could be judged both as the better source and the one that is closer to the archetype (intrinsic). Images that are close iconographically, but differ in format or arrangement, also could be determined as more or less original in relation to the posited archetype. Changes of arrangement would be equivalent to textual corruption (transcriptional).⁷⁴ Secondly, the critic should determine the date and origin of the documents; the art historian would do this by using the style of the miniatures and ornament for dating and localisation and the textual critic, through palaeography (Internal Evidence of Documents). Determination of the quality of

73. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 47-129.

74. *Ibid.*, 185-186.

each picture within a cycle, like the distinction of good and bad readings within a text, is then necessary to determine the relation of the entire picture cycle or text to the archetype.⁷⁵

The final phase of this text-critical system is the most crucial. In this the genealogical method is used to establish the external relationship between manuscripts and to trace the transmission of texts; the purpose is the re-creation of the original text. Weitzmann again adopted Hort's terminology to transform the method to art-historical use. Picture cycles too could be placed within a stemma that would lead back to the 'pure' archetype. The same difficulties that faced the textual critic when attempting to discover the archetype of a text would obtain for the picture critic. This would include weighing the value of the descendants of an archetype: numerical preponderance would not be the deciding factor in favour of one group or the other, rather, the quality of and relationships between the descendants must be determined in order to establish the most reliable stemma. Also, the artist, like the scribe copying the text, may have used more than one model simultaneously, causing a complicated mixture and further distancing the descendant from the archetype. But, if the various complications have been heeded, proper construction of the appropriate stemma would follow.⁷⁶

In his analogy of picture criticism with textual criticism, Weitzmann suggested his attitude toward the relative roles of author, scribe, and artist. The author, as creator of the text, is the primary figure, the scribes reproducing the text, mere copyists. But, how is the role of the artist defined? Illustrating the text is not, in fact, equivalent to the writing of it. Yet Weitzmann's use of the genealogical system presupposes an original artist to create the original 'pure' archetype; all subsequent versions are produced not by artists, but mere copyists.⁷⁷ This virtually removes most creative possibilities for later artists. Any change in iconography or selection of subject he explained in textual

75. *Ibid.*, 186-187.

76. *Ibid.*, 190-191.

77. See Vikan's comments on Octateuch illustration and its transmission and his interpretation of Byzantine copying, 'Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium', 47-49, 57.

terms, pejoratively, as corruptions or errors, whether for good or for bad.⁷⁸ The problem with this system is that it does not allow a text to be illustrated by different artists in different ways that may be unrelated. It is a system that insists on an order and on a set of circumstances that probably were never achieved. Furthermore, instead of relating text and image, Weitzmann's system separates them, by reducing the degree of interaction between the two.

Weitzmann's most significant caveat concerning the use of the genealogical method indicates that for him the usefulness of textual studies for art history ends with adoption of its methodology. He warned that textual stemmata and picture stemmata should not be confused. The same manuscripts that form the textual recension do not necessarily form the pictorial recension. Weitzmann thus separated text and image: the original text may not have been illustrated at the outset; instead, a descendant could have been chosen for this honour. Furthermore, not all copies of a text are always illustrated. In Weitzmann's genealogical scheme, text and pictorial cycle would not only follow different lines of descent, but would be, in effect, isolated from one another. The brilliance of Weitzmann's system was in recognising, in manuscripts, the natural connection between the text and the images created to illustrate it. However, the ultimate result of his system was a rupture between the text as content and its illustrations. Once the pictorial archetype had been established, Weitzmann argued, the model for subsequent descendants would be provided. The text, apparently, would no longer be significant for the decoration.⁷⁹ Pictorial cycle would be copied from pictorial cycle, independent of the text. According to Weitzmann's scheme, a change in the text would not affect the system of illustration. Certainly, in specific cases this could be so, but overall, as I shall show in the case of the lectionary, it is a too restrictive view of the total manuscript. Finally, Weitzmann warned that style should also be disengaged from the pictorial cycle. He asserted that considerations of style would disturb the genealogical scheme because, he believed, style and

78. Lowden addressed this issue in *The Octateuchs*, 37.

79. Walter also alluded to this in his brief analysis of Weitzmann's method, 'Liturgy and the Illustration of Gregory of Nazianzen's Homilies', 187-188.

iconography proceed or are transmitted along different lines of descent.⁸⁰ Again, Weitzmann, in his zeal to impose a classification system on manuscript illumination, forced a disjunction between the major and essential units of images: their iconography and style. The original premise of his system, founded on textual criticism, eventually was forgotten as the separate units of manuscripts (text and images) were analysed in parallel and divergent arrangements. Iconography, isolated from text and disengaged from style, dominated the genealogical method that was adopted and adapted by Weitzmann for his manuscript studies.

Weitzmann and the Chicago Lectionary Project

Weitzmann's utilisation of textual criticism to inform picture criticism as an integral part of his system of classification has already been demonstrated. Yet, review of Weitzmann's nominally historiographical publications has gleaned scanty information concerning the influence of textual criticism on his scholarship, nor has it clarified exactly the process by which he formulated his method. Because his construction of method took place in his early years in the United States, it is to this scholarship as it was developing there in the 1930s and 1940s that attention must turn. It has already been noted that the art department at Princeton was in the process of establishing itself as a leading centre of manuscript studies when Weitzmann arrived on the scene. Further, Weitzmann was in contact with American textual scholars who were actively involved in genealogical textual criticism, although he chose not to articulate the nature of this connection in his autobiography. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, many of these textual critics were involved in the lectionary project at the University of Chicago.⁸¹

Soon after Weitzmann arrived in Princeton, Harold Willoughby, a professor in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, read a paper in the manuscript seminar at Princeton and spent a sabbatical year working in the Index, living in the same housing facilities as Weitzmann.⁸² The connection between these two men (and Princeton

80. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 191-192.

81. Dolezal, 'Elusive Quest for the "Real Thing"'.

82. Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium*, 100.

and Chicago) is of some significance in elucidating the genesis of Weitzmann's method. Although Weitzmann in his various memoirs chose not to call attention to the close working relationship established between his university and the University of Chicago, Chicago scholars were not so hesitant in their writings.⁸³ Willoughby was instrumental in creating a 'Corpus of New Testament Iconography' that assembled photographs of the images in Greek New Testament manuscripts.⁸⁴ He conceived his 'Corpus' as a needed corrective to the Princeton Index of Christian Art, which was not originally as strong in Byzantine illustration. Willoughby characterised an equal exchange between Chicago and Princeton in their mutual quest to expand the field of manuscript studies in textual criticism and iconography.⁸⁵ The collaboration evident among the scholars of these two schools indicates the context in which Weitzmann also functioned when he arrived in Princeton in 1935. In addition, other scholars such as Bruce Metzger, who was situated first at Princeton University and then at Princeton Theological Seminary, both participated and published in the lectionary project and produced at least one student who also published in the Chicago lectionary series.⁸⁶ Weitzmann, therefore, had ample opportunity to establish contact with or to become cognisant of lectionary text studies after his arrival. Moreover, the lectionary project at Chicago was dependent on genealogical method in its quest for the ur-text. In the early years of the project, the textual critics were strikingly optimistic about the outcome of their project, the re-creation

83. For an overview of the letters and memoirs of the Chicago scholars Willoughby and Edgar Goodspeed, see Ben Withers, 'The Photograph and the Manuscript: Episodes in the History of Art History at The University of Chicago', *Chicago Art Journal* (Spring 1994) 35-41. I thank Kathleen Maxwell for sending me a copy of this article.

84. This collection of around five thousand photographs is housed in the Epstein Archive of Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago. It is part of a much larger collection of photographs (about seventeen thousand total) assembled by Willoughby for research and teaching. See Withers, 'The Photography and the Manuscript' 36.

85. Withers, 'The Photograph and the Manuscript', 39-40.

86. B.M. Metzger, *The Saturday and Sunday Lessons from Luke in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*, Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament II, no. 3., ed. E.C. Colwell (Chicago 1944) and R. Harms, *The Matthean Weekday Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary*, Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament II, no. 6, ed. A.P. Wikgren (Chicago 1966).

of the original lectionary text. Weitzmann would have become familiar with this textual project at an ideal moment.

While it is true that his fundamental methodological study, *Roll and Codex*, was concerned with outlining an approach for all genres of illuminated manuscripts, the impact on Weitzmann of a strong school of New Testament textual criticism, active when he would have been formulating his own methodology, must be acknowledged. Furthermore, although the textual scholars at Chicago were specifically analysing the lectionary text, it can also be demonstrated that Weitzmann's interest in the lectionary evolved quite early in his career. His initial study dealing with a lectionary appeared in 1938,⁸⁷ but more importantly, Weitzmann referred to lectionaries several times in his exposition of method, which indicates he had already begun thinking about this manuscript type in terms of the genealogical method. This statement can be taken even further. The evidence suggests that, in fact, the text-critical lectionary research influenced Weitzmann's formulation of methodology; once established, the formulated method fed back into his own lectionary research. He clearly and rightly perceived that the lectionary held an important position in Byzantine church ritual because it replaced the Gospel book as the source for Gospel lessons read during the service.⁸⁸ Because his initial research in the lectionary field matured by the mid-1940s, it cannot be coincidental that textual scholarship focused on the lectionary, pursued at the University of Chicago, had already reached its peak in the 1940s, having officially begun in 1932 with Ernest Cadman Colwell's seminal article articulating the agenda for the Chicago Lectionary project.⁸⁹ Weitzmann, as an art historian, would have independently appreciated lectionary illumination but must have been encouraged by the intense interest displayed by Chicago textual critics in the lectionary text.

The textual critics' attempt to increase the importance of and role played by the lectionary in the history of the New Testament could

87. K. Weitzmann, 'Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 8 (1938) 83-98; reprinted in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*.

88. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 173.

89. E.C. Colwell, 'Is There a Lectionary Text of the Gospels?', *Harvard Theological Review* 25 (1932) 73-89.

only augment Weitzmann's analysis of lectionaries. Those New Testament scholars involved with this research, in turn, were encouraged by Weitzmann's use of textual criticism in the field of art history. It was an affirmation of the usefulness of their textual methodology. In fact, Metzger called attention to Weitzmann's contribution to the alliance of the two fields, textual criticism and picture criticism, in his handbook on the New Testament text.⁹⁰ It is also clear that Weitzmann's scholarship was considered to be related to the research of the textual scholars; as I mentioned earlier, a contribution by him was included in the festschrift for Edgar Goodspeed, *New Testament Manuscript Studies*.⁹¹ The papers given by the textual critics and Weitzmann were presented at a conference in 1948 and published in 1950. Therefore, although textual criticism was not a new field, particularly in Europe, it attained some prominence in New Testament studies in the pre- and post-World War II eras in the United States.

The lectionary project as it developed in Chicago was just one part of a larger on-going quest: the determination — in effect, the recreation — of the entire Greek New Testament. In a sense, the Chicago lectionary project revived and continued what was basically a nineteenth-century endeavour; yet it was also very much a new and original line of research. Undoubtedly, this was the self-perception of the Chicago group. In their presentation of goals and achievements of the lectionary project, they asserted strong confidence in the originality of their research. After all, the lectionary had been virtually ignored by most previous scholars. The lectionary group turned toward a manuscript type, previously considered unimportant, and infused it with great importance for the history of New Testament literature. Moreover, the hypothesis put forward by the Chicago scholars that a definite, unique lectionary text could be established, although later proven untenable, provided support for Weitzmann's theories concerning the development of manuscript illumination. If there was a definitive lectionary text, could not there have been a definitive

90. Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 29 and 29, no. 2. The first edition of this handbook was published in 1964.

91. See footnote 21.

structure to lectionary illustration?⁹² Their belief in and insistence on the re-creation of the lectionary text provided some necessary support for Weitzmann as he developed his text-critically based methodology. Further, the endless collations, the categorisation of the lectionaries into groups or families was grounded in the genealogical method as outlined by Hort. The Chicago lectionary group utilised various approaches in their quest for the lectionary ur-text but all these approaches, no matter what the textual scholars may have said, were either variations on the basic genealogical approach or supplemental to it.

Weitzmann's use of Hort as his only acknowledged source is not inexplicable if it is analysed in terms of New Testament textual criticism. Colwell explains:

Since Westcott and Hort, the genealogical method has been the canonical method of restoring the original text of the books of the New Testament. It dominates the handbooks. Sir Frederic Kenyon, C.R. Gregory, Alexander Souter, and A.T. Robertson are a few of the many who declare its excellence. Von Soden used it as Hort had used it, and Streeter's theory of local texts is built upon it.⁹³

In this article, Colwell appeared critical of the genealogical method, yet his criticism was directed more at the unrefined character of the methodology not at its premise. Colwell maintained his belief in the possibility of re-creating the original Gospel text. Undoubtedly, he considered the genealogical method useful for establishing families of closely related manuscripts, but less useful for establishing the

92. Weitzmann did indicate he understood the difference between textual criticism and art-historical analysis of the lectionary when he stated in the conclusion of 'Narrative and Liturgical Illustration': 'It is true, as we said before, that the illustrations in lectionaries make no contribution to the establishment of the archetype of the Gospels in the way the text of the lectionaries promises to do whenever it will be more fully studied' (174). But, establishment of the ur-text of the Gospels was not the only function of lectionary research and presumption of a separate lectionary text (its own ur-text), a different matter altogether, could only encourage Weitzmann's assumption concerning lectionary decoration.

93. E.C. Colwell, 'Genealogical Method: Its Achievements and Its Limitations', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66 (1947) 109-133; reprinted in idem, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, New Testament Tools and Studies 9, ed. B. Metzger (Grand Rapids, Mich. 1969) 63-83.

relationships of more widely diverse textual versions. The methodology Colwell did support was based on the genealogical method. Certainly his lectionary project, the collations of lection after lection in order to re-create the original, the belief that there was an original text, cannot be disengaged from the Hortian method. Whether the methodology is called genealogy or stemmatics is merely a question of semantics.⁹⁴ Colwell believed it was appropriate for closely related texts, which he termed 'families' but not for larger groups of manuscripts less close textually. What he proposed was re-evaluation of the genealogical method and the development of a newer method that would enable the textual critic to reconstruct the original text and the history of the transmission of the Gospel text. Furthermore, Colwell later recanted his mild criticism of Hortian method and called for a re-evaluation and revival of it, believing that this method was still useful for the reconstruction of the New Testament text. It is unlikely that Colwell's brief questioning of the method would have effected any change in Weitzmann's attitude toward textual criticism and its efficacy for picture criticism.⁹⁵ The methodological quibblings of the textual critics did not change the fundamental influence they had on Weitzmann and the development of his art-historical methodology. The ultimate goal remained constant: the reconstruction of the original text for textual critics; and for Weitzmann's theory of manuscript illumination: the reconstruction of the original forms of decoration.

Weitzmann's Method: A Case Study of the Illustrated Lectionary

Some of the problems inherent in Weitzmann's theories for the study of illustrated manuscripts may be evaluated by examining his approach to a single manuscript type. Through analysis of the illustrated

94. Colwell, 'Genealogical Method', 80-83.

95. E.C. Colwell, 'Hort Redivivus: A Plea and A Program', in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship, Essays in Divinity* 6, ed. J.C. Rylaarsdam (Chicago 1968) 131-156. Reprinted in idem, *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 148-171. Colwell stated: 'Fenton John Anthony Hort needs to be brought back to life. He made a major contribution to the textual criticism of the New Testament in the nineteenth century. He can make a major contribution today' (148). He continued to praise the comprehensiveness of Hort's method and then set forth a design to utilise Hort in current textual criticism.

lectionary, fallacies in his argument can be adduced, and the connection between the Chicago lectionary project's hypotheses concerning the text and Weitzmann's concerning its pictures can be established. Weitzmann mentioned lectionary illustration several times in *Roll and Codex* and indicated, briefly, the theories he would expound in greater detail in later articles about specific lectionaries. Thus, it can be demonstrated that Weitzmann's analysis of lectionaries was dependent on the textual critics' conclusions about the text. For example, Weitzmann posited a parallel course for the movement of Gospel miniatures to the lectionary as the textual critics at Chicago had assumed for the movement of Gospel text into lectionary form. He concluded that a pictorial archetype was invented for the Gospels and that this originally very extensive archetype was then taken over in selective form into the pictorial archetype invented for the lectionary. This paralleled the suggestion of the textual critics that the Gospel text was abridged and re-arranged into a definitive lectionary text.⁹⁶ Weitzmann also believed that the Gospel pictorial cycle was little changed when selectively adopted for the lectionary cycle. The miniatures were regrouped to fit with the re-arranged text and according to him they were not altered iconographically. This conclusion is significant for the development of his doctrine concerning lectionary pictorial structure.

The Chicago lectionary group selected the lectionary for close scrutiny because it held an important place in Byzantine liturgical ritual, but also because it had been generally ignored or underrated by earlier textual scholars, such as von Soden. The Chicago group stressed the importance of the lectionary text as part of their justification for attempting to re-create the lectionary ur-text they believed had existed. And too, they based their faith in the importance of the lectionary text on the assumption that because it was a liturgical text it must be inherently conservative and the establishment of its original text would lead to the establishment of the original Gospel text.⁹⁷ Weitzmann already had assimilated these premises of the Chicago group in *Roll and Codex*. Once he had accepted the hypothesised

96. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 132-133.

97. Dolezal, 'Elusive Quest for the "Real Thing"', 131.

conservative and important liturgical character of the lectionary text, he could incorporate these characteristics into the pictorial cycle of the lectionary. He suggested that the deviations found in the iconography of lectionary miniatures occurred in order to attest to the liturgical character of the book. Miniatures from the presumably narrative Gospel cycle would be altered into more hieratic, icon-like scenes.⁹⁸ Further, the conservative and liturgical character of the lectionary was a determining factor in the quality and type of miniatures selected and adapted for illustrating the lectionary. According to Weitzmann, because of its importance, the lectionary required the highest quality miniatures and these miniatures would illustrate only the most important feasts.⁹⁹ He also contended that full-page miniatures, abbreviated and monumentalised, alone were worthy to be selected for the lectionary pictorial cycle.¹⁰⁰ These contentions concerning the lectionary, however briefly stated in Weitzmann's methodological treatise, would become the nucleus of his theory of lectionary illustration.

In fact, the year after the publication of *Roll and Codex*, Weitzmann gave his paper, 'The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations', at the University of Chicago for the members of the Chicago lectionary project. He expanded his theory of lectionary illustration and made manifest its connection with the Chicago project's textual theories. In this one paper he outlined his blueprint for the study of lectionary illustration in its entirety. Each of his subsequent articles devoted to lectionaries was derived from this paper, which can now be regarded as his comprehensive and definitive statement on lectionary illustration.¹⁰¹ Weitzmann iterated his conclusions regarding the relationship between text and image asserting strongly that textual criticism and pictorial criticism resemble each other to a remarkable

98. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 173. Weitzmann used the lectionary to clarify the connection between textual criticism and pictorial criticism: the deviations found in the text or in the miniature can be useful for establishing recensions or families of manuscripts.

99. *Ibid.*, 185.

100. *Ibid.*, 105.

101. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical', 151-174. It was here that Weitzmann first stated his intention to publish a monograph under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks, *The Illustration of Constantinopolitan Lectionaries*. He mentioned this projected publication in subsequent lectionary articles, but he stated that this plan had been

degree. More importantly, he indicated that the members of the Chicago project were cognisant of the interrelationship between text and image and applied this knowledge to their own publications.¹⁰² Significantly, he selected the lectionary as the manuscript type that would substantiate his text-critically based method. This alone suggests the important influence the lectionary text studies at Chicago had on Weitzmann's method and on his theory of lectionary illustration. Weitzmann concluded that evidence gleaned from lectionary miniatures could supplement textual evidence if the miniatures were analysed according to textual principles.¹⁰³ He further indicated his acceptance of the premises of the Chicago project by stating that although the illustrations of the lectionary may not lead to the re-creation of the Gospel pictorial archetype, the text of the lectionary will lead to the establishment of the Gospel textual archetype. But, the belief in the existence of a lectionary textual archetype was used by Weitzmann to support his notion of a lectionary pictorial archetype.

Once Weitzmann had absorbed the tenets of the Chicago lectionary group, his own notions regarding the pictorial cycle of the lectionary and its genesis become more fathomable although not now more acceptable. Like the textual critics, Weitzmann accepted the existence of a definitive original lectionary text which he believed had come into being sometime in the eighth or ninth century. He thought that once the text was established, the original pictorial archetype was formed, soon after the end of Iconoclasm. By the tenth century the 'present form' of the lectionary, he argued, was fully composed.¹⁰⁴ Further elaborating on the contentions of the textual critics, Weitzmann proposed that illustrated lectionaries were either produced in Constantinople or were copies of a Constantinopolitan model. He

abandoned in the addenda to his reprinted article, 'The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639', *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner (Princeton 1954) 358-373 in the 1980 Variorum Reprint, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*. Weitzmann referred to his paper as a prolegomenon to the no longer forthcoming monograph (n. 1, 215).

102. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical', 152. He was referring to Colwell, Riddle, Goodspeed and Willoughby.

103. *Ibid.*, 174.

104. *Ibid.*, 154. The phrase 'present form' is Weitzmann's and should be interpreted as his belief of what that form must be, not necessarily what actually existed.

supported this assumption with yet another assumption, that the lectionary text belonged to a Constantinopolitan recension, rather shaky evidence for his proposal to be sure.¹⁰⁵

This desire to fit lectionary illustration into a schema similar to the one proposed for the lectionary text is a key element of Weitzmann's theory and he made it abundantly clear:

It must be the aim of the art historian to work out, by means of comparative method, a stemma of illustrated manuscripts, and, on the basis of picture criticism, to establish families in a manner similar to that used by the text critic.¹⁰⁶

Weitzmann then proceeded to establish a family of lectionaries with particular characteristics which reflected a pictorial archetype. As he stated:

It must have been a splendid lectionary which first absorbed the influence of monumental art and showed its hieratic quality in stately full page miniatures.¹⁰⁷

This splendid lectionary was then the pictorial archetype for all subsequent lectionaries, none of which met the high standard set by the ur-lectionary. Moreover, in one of his later discussions of lectionaries, Weitzmann attempted to prove the existence of this original decorated lectionary type.¹⁰⁸ He summoned what he referred to as archaeological evidence to lend credence to his argument and to provide a visual re-creation of this lost lectionary archetype. However, much of this so-called archaeological evidence consisted of examples from other media or other manuscript types contemporary with this lost archetype; less evidence was gleaned from extant lectionaries. Weitzmann used ivories, contemporary provincial miniatures, lectionaries from the 'post-renaissance' period, and miniatures he believed had migrated from the

105. *Ibid.* In fact, the research of the textual scholars indicated a complicated reconstruction for the lectionary text, a morass of recensions and bewildering relationships. See Dolezal, 'Elusive Quest for the "Real Thing"', 131-133.

106. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical', 169.

107. *Ibid.*, 170.

108. K. Weitzmann, 'A 10th Century Lectionary. A Lost Masterpiece of the Macedonian Renaissance', *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 9 (1971) 617-640; reprinted in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*.

lectionary archetype to other texts.¹⁰⁹ He then suggested that the iconographical programme that must have existed in the lost archetype comprised the great church feasts, twelve of which Weitzmann believed were verging on the canonical, and additional feasts which were almost as revered in some hierarchical order.¹¹⁰ Weitzmann did allow that other feast scenes might have been included, but his list covered the most important feast days of the church.

On Weitzmann's original assumption concerning the impetus to decorate lectionaries hang various other conclusions he had set forth about the illustration. One such conclusion was that an archetype for the illustrated lectionary was produced during the Macedonian 'renaissance', a period when assorted texts were being illustrated. According to Weitzmann, various manuscripts, such as the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter, were produced in a palace scriptorium during this 'renaissance'. Lowden has already pointed out the fallacies of Weitzmann's hypotheses concerning the Joshua Roll as evidence for a Macedonian 'renaissance'.¹¹¹ Likewise, because the lectionary was so important, Weitzmann believed that a decorated version must also have been created at this time whose influence could easily be detected in later manuscripts.¹¹² Yet, no such lectionary exists and none of the extant lectionaries even resemble the lost archetype that he proposed. In order to explicate the lectionary, he reached a conclusion and then manipulated the material to fit his theory, and in the process ignored the actual evidence which belied his theory.

109. *Ibid.*, 618-619. In a later article, Weitzmann suggested the incorporation of lectionary full-page feast scenes into a tenth century Gospel book, 'An Illustrated Greek New Testament of the Tenth Century in the Walters Art Gallery', *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, eds. U.E. McCracken, L.M.C. Randall, and R.H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore 1974) 19-38; reprinted in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*. He also repeated his position that a lost archetype of the lectionary can be proven to have existed possibly as early as the second half of the ninth century (36-38).

110. Weitzmann, 'A 10th Century Lectionary', 621-639. The feast scenes that comprised the iconographical programme of the lost archetype were: the Anastasis, Incredulity of Thomas, Ascension, Pentecost, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Washing of the Feet, Last Supper, Crucifixion, Deposition from the Cross, Birth of the Virgin, Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Nativity, Circumcision, Baptism, Presentation in the Temple, Annunciation, Metamorphosis, and the Koimesis.

111. Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, 105-119.

112. Weitzmann, 'A 10th Century Lectionary', 618; *idem*, 'Illustrated Greek New Testament', 38; and *idem*, *Sailing with Byzantium*, 405 and 544-545.

In both his Chicago paper and his final determination of the lectionary ur-type, Weitzmann utilised the conclusions of the early members of the Chicago lectionary group as evidence for his theory of lectionary illustration. In almost every instance, Weitzmann prefaced his discussions of lectionaries with an axiom: the most important liturgical book was the Gospel lectionary, therefore artists would exert their greatest effort decorating and embellishing this book.¹¹³ To be sure, the lectionary was important, but it does not follow that reverence for this text manifested itself in lavish decoration or that lavish decoration was necessary to enhance the importance of the text. The small number of extant extensively illustrated lectionaries suggests otherwise. Although the textual scholars had a large sample of lectionary texts to collate and try to arrange into recensions, Weitzmann had substantially fewer illustrated lectionaries to arrange into pictorial recensions or to employ in order to determine the archetype.¹¹⁴ The fact that so few lectionaries were lavishly decorated despite the unquestionable significance of the text indicates that other reasons must be sought to explain both why lectionaries were illustrated and how they were illustrated. Weitzmann, by adhering to his and the textual critics' original axiom without challenging it, was unable to bring other questions to bear on the lectionary material.

An additional assumption arose from the belief that lectionaries were lavishly decorated because of their important role in church ritual.¹¹⁵ Weitzmann postulated that the lectionary archetype would be illustrated with full-page, icon-like miniatures because the liturgical

113. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical', 153. Also, *idem*, 'Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century', *The Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*. Oxford. 5-10th September, 1966, eds. J.M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, and S. Runciman (London 1967) 207-224; reprinted in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, 271-313.

114. Of the more than 2,400 extant lectionaries, fewer than 20 are extensively illustrated. While there would have been more lectionaries originally, which have since been destroyed, the number of deluxe lectionaries would still have been proportionately small. See K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: Zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage* (Berlin 1994) 219-370.

115. Another Weitzmann student, Jeffrey Anderson, repeated Weitzmann's assumptions concerning the lectionary in *The New York Cruciform Lectionary* (University Park, Penn. 1992). See my review of this monograph in *Speculum* 69 (1994) 731-733.

character of this manuscript could best be represented with hieratic and monumental renditions of feast scenes.¹¹⁶ However, it is by no means certain that full-page miniatures were more compelling for artist or patron for use in lectionary decoration. There were illustrated lectionaries exclusively with full-page miniatures which Weitzmann invoked as evidence for his archetype. But, these are few in number and among these only one can be considered to date close to the period of the proposed archetype, the tenth-century fragment, St. Petersburg, Public Library, cod. gr. 21.¹¹⁷ Another lectionary on Mt. Athos in the Lavra Skevophylakion contains three full-page miniatures only and was dated by Weitzmann to the early eleventh century but this date has since been questioned.¹¹⁸ However, neither St. Petersburg cod. 21 nor the Lavra lectionary correspond in the selection or number of feast scenes hypothesised in Weitzmann's archetype. Other later illustrated lectionaries, among them, Mt. Athos, Iviron Monastery, cod. 1 and Mt. Athos, Panteleimon Monastery, cod. 2 also contained full-page or large-scale miniatures of feast scenes.¹¹⁹ But again, the selection and number of feast scenes to be illustrated in these lectionaries has little relationship either to other lectionaries or to the hypothetic lost archetype. The evidence provided by the extant illustrated lectionaries also suggests that there was no overriding compulsion to insert large-scale hieratic miniatures to decorate this important liturgical book. An early illustrated lectionary, Patmos, Monastery of John the Theologian, cod. 70, which dates close to the period Weitzmann proposed for the creation of his archetype, the

116. Weitzmann, 'A 10th Century Lectionary', 619; *idem*, 'Narrative and Liturgical', 170; and *idem*, *Sailing with Byzantium*, 405.

117. V.D. Likhachova, *Byzantine Miniature* (Moscow 1977) pls. 5-10 and *Lektionar von St. Petersburg: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des codex gr. 21, gr. 21a der Russischen Nationalbibliothek in St. Petersburg*, 2 vols: Facsimile and Commentary (Graz 1994).

118. Weitzmann, 'Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra'. In the addenda, Weitzmann acceded to a later date, in the twelfth century, for this manuscript and in doing so relinquished his argument concerning its patronage and purpose (98). See also S.M. Pelekanides, P.C. Christou, and Ch. Tsoumis, *The Treasures of Mount Athos* (Athens 1979) 3:28-33, 217-219.

119. Pelekanides, *Treasures of Mount Athos*, 2:24-29, 293-295 (Iviron cod. 1) and 2:150-171, 349-353 (Panteleimon cod. 2).

late ninth century, contains *marginal* illustrations.¹²⁰ Weitzmann was well aware of this early example of lectionary illustration but chose to ignore it by terming it provincial; in this way, it was an exception that could be disregarded since it did not conform to his theory of mainstream lectionary illustration.¹²¹

Nor can Weitzmann's claim that the highest quality of artistic labour was lavished on lectionary decoration be borne out.¹²² The highest level of artistic achievement certainly did not grace the lectionaries Patmos cod. 70 and Panteleimon cod. 2, among others; their materials and painting are much less fine in comparison to more expensively decorated examples. Splendidly decorated and high quality lectionaries did in fact exist as exemplified particularly by Rome, Vat. Lib., cod. gr. 1156, Venice, San Giorgio dei Greci, cod. 2, New York, Morgan Lib. cod. M639, and Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587. All of these lectionaries can be dated to the later eleventh century or early twelfth century. None bears any resemblance to Weitzmann's archetype in selection or number of illustrations. Each is *exceptional*. Each is decorated with a complex mixture of large miniatures, small miniatures, and marginal illustration. And each differs not only from the presumed archetype but also from each other in selection of feasts illustrated, number of illustrations, and arrangement of the illustrations. The unique decorative programmes represented by these lectionaries do not conform well to Weitzmann's system. Although he recognised some of the unique characteristics displayed in these decorated lectionaries, he was unable to interpret them outside the suppositions he had raised to the status of fact. Because Weitzmann strove to explicate the iconographical programmes of these lectionaries in terms

120. Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pls. LXXI-LXXIII and A.D. Kominis, ed., *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens 1988) 306.

121. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical', 154. Weitzmann further justified his dismissal of contrary evidence by invoking the research of the textual critics. They maintained that most lectionaries came from a Constantinopolitan recension and Weitzmann felt, despite the exceptions, that the pictures supported the textual critics' contention.

122. Weitzmann, 'Constantinopolitan Lectionary', 358. Weitzmann emphatically stated that 'There is no other group of illuminated Greek manuscripts where the level of artistic perfection is as high as among lectionaries'. He believed that only the best artists would have been employed to produce this liturgical book.

of a larger system, he ignored other aspects which could equally inform their purpose. In the case of Dionysiou cod. 587, for example, Weitzmann interpreted a specific iconographic programme emphasising John the Baptist and then erroneously dated the manuscript to fit historical data that would support the iconographic interpretation. Once Weitzmann had suggested that this lectionary contained a preponderance of scenes from the life of John the Baptist, he assumed it must have been produced for a monastery with a particular interest in the Baptist. Since the Studios monastery owned a relic of the Baptist, he concluded that Dionysiou cod. 587 was made for that monastery. Because of the high quality of the manuscript, he also assumed it must be an imperial gift. Knowing that the emperor Isaac Komnenos retired to the Studios in 1059, he dated Dionysiou cod. 587 to 1059, made as a gift of Isaac to the Studios. There is no internal evidence to support Weitzmann's suppositions regarding this manuscript.¹²³

The text of Dionysiou cod. 587 is also idiosyncratic. It is highly abridged with a specific selection of lections. Analyses of the text and the choice of images provide a better basis for interpretation.¹²⁴ The great irony of Weitzmann's text-critically based method was that he virtually ignored the character of the texts of the lectionaries he studied. In his analysis of the lectionary Morgan cod. 639, Weitzmann once again concentrated his efforts on explication of the iconographical programme.¹²⁵ He noted the unusual selection of images and the unusual iconography of many of the images but sought explanation from sources outside the manuscript. According to him, the scenes were derived from a model, either another lectionary or a work in

123. K. Weitzmann, 'An Imperial Lectionary in the Monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos. Its Origin and its Wanderings', *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 7 (1969) 239-253; reprinted in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*. See M.-L. Dolezal, 'Illuminating the Liturgical Word: Text and Image in a Decorated Lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)', *Word & Image* 12 (1996) 23-60.

124. Weitzmann attributed another lectionary specifically to imperial patronage. It is a luxurious purple codex with gold uncial text which would indicate an imperial connection, but it was not illustrated. It has an abridged text, but a different abridgement than in Dionysiou cod. 587. See 'Ein kaiserliches Lektionar einer byzantinischen Hofschule', *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda zum 28 Januar 1959* (Vienna 1959) 309-320; reprinted in *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*.

125. Weitzmann, 'Constantinopolitan Lectionary', 358-373.

another medium.¹²⁶ He did not consider that the text or any other aspect of Morgan cod. 639 might explain the decoration and purpose of this manuscript. In Weitzmann's studies of illustrated lectionaries, the preservation of his theory and the textual critics' hypotheses was more crucial than explication of any exceptions to them. Weitzmann's dependence on the contentions of the Chicago lectionary group is further demonstrated in his discussion of Vat. cod. gr. 1156. The lectionary textual critics believed that a lection was an inviolate unit and it served as the basis for their collations. Weitzmann concluded that artists would not violate its unity with pictures inserted in the text. Yet for the lection read on December 26th in Vat. cod. gr. 1156, a series of marginal illustrations interrupt the text, something for which he gave no explanation.¹²⁷ Weitzmann's method and theory of lectionary illustration failed to determine why each lectionary was decorated in its own peculiar way.

Weitzmann in Context

In the end, Weitzmann's dependence on the original premises of the Chicago lectionary project led him to conclusions concerning the lectionary pictorial cycle which cannot be sustained by the evidence provided by detailed study of individual extant decorated lectionaries. While modestly denying it, he exaggerated the validity of the textual model for the construction of a system of lectionary illustration:

It would seem to us to be no exaggeration to state that the crystallisation of the lectionary illustration into a liturgical cycle of canonical validity, and its spread into other manuscripts and a variety of media, are the most important aspects of eleventh-century book illumination.¹²⁸

However, there is nothing canonical about the lectionary text or its pictorial cycle. In fact, later members of the Chicago lectionary group

126. *Ibid.*, 373.

127. K. Weitzmann, 'Narrative and Liturgical', 155-157; and M.-L. Dolezal, 'The Middle Byzantine Lectionary: Textual and Pictorial Expression of Liturgical Ritual' (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago 1991) and forthcoming monograph, *Ritual Representations. The Middle Byzantine Lectionary through Text and Image* (Penn State Press).

128. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Miniature', 290-291.

disputed the original premise of the project. Their research made manifest that the text was not homogeneous and that the nature of the text, from the outset a re-structured form of the Gospels, militated against the possibility of reconstructing any original definitive form. The text did not emerge at some specific moment in time, but evolved incrementally. What the later results of the lectionary project did reveal about the lectionary text was its heterogeneity. As David Pellett, one of the later Chicago textual scholars, so convincingly demonstrated in the early 1950s, surviving lectionary texts do not arrange themselves into a neat stemma.¹²⁹ Likewise, my contention is that lectionary illustration cannot be easily categorised or systematised. It is as implausible that there was an original, now lost, illustrated lectionary as that there was an original, now lost, textual archetype. In the case of both text and illustration, lectionaries differ from one another and this crucial observation argues against the discovery or re-creation of a unique 'original'. Ultimately, the genealogical method fails to explicate this complex liturgical book.

Thus, the original premises of the Chicago lectionary project and of Weitzmann's manuscript theory prove to be untenable. Pursual of these premises obscures the more interesting questions that can be asked of the lectionary material. Because of the broad influence of his method in the United States, the critical review of it is important to recast the approach taken to elucidating lectionaries. The differences among their texts and images can be quite informative; these differences should be the focus of future lectionary research. For example, questions must be asked about the process by which the lectionary became a separate entity from the Gospel book; about why lectionaries differ from each other and what the significance is of these differences. Liturgical and historical data must be sought to explicate the function of the lectionary in church ritual and to discover how specific lectionaries may have responded to the needs of a specific audience. The later textual critics in the Chicago project, having rejected the original direction of lectionary research, suggested that a divergent

129. D. Pellett, 'The Holy Week Lections in the Greek Gospel Lectionary' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago 1954) 157; and Dolezal, 'Elusive Quest for the "Real Thing"', 133-134.

course could be more useful for the explication of the lectionary text. For the art historian, the text-critical method championed by Weitzmann failed equally to untangle the puzzling features of lectionary illustration, yet his interest in and study of the lectionary can serve to stimulate the new questions and new approaches necessary for the elucidation of this perplexing book.

Although Weitzmann's text-critically based method has here been an object of criticism for its unsuitability to explicate pictorial cycles of the lectionary, its formulation deserves to be reviewed in the context of his time. The interdisciplinary nature of his methodology must be noted and his forays into other disciplines in order to develop his theories concerning visual material are laudable. In fact, contemporaries of Weitzmann who reviewed his methodological statement in *Roll and Codex* stressed the interdisciplinary aspect of his work, praising his articulation of the relationship between text and image. One reviewer went so far as to define Weitzmann's theoretical formulation of methodology as revolutionary, calling to mind Grafton's observations quoted earlier.¹³⁰ Almost fifty years later this may seem a hyperbolic summation of Weitzmann's accomplishment, but it would be unwise to discount the impact his work had at that time and during a large portion of the twentieth century. Other reviewers, in one form or another, also expressed awareness of the newness of Weitzmann's approach to the study of manuscript illumination. For example, Adolf Katzenellenbogen stated:

To begin with, Weitzmann is the first to discuss in a systematic and comprehensive manner 'the problem of how miniature and text are related to each other in principle.' By solving essential questions or suggesting possible solutions for them he opens new vistas to the student of early book illumination. He formulates new terms, which in the precision of their meaning should prove very fruitful tools for an analysis of illustration methods.¹³¹

130. D.T. Rice, review of *Illustrations of Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, by K. Weitzmann, in *Byzantinoslavica* 11 (1950) 108-110.

131. A. Katzenellenbogen, review of *Illustrations of Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, by K. Weitzmann, in *Speculum* 23 (1948) 513. Weitzmann was similarly praised for 'defining historical principles in the relationship between the written word and its pictorial accompaniment, especially in this most complex area' by H. Bober in his review in *Art Bulletin* 30 (1948) 284. He further commended the use of methods adapted from textual criticism.

In light of today's scholarship with its emphasis on interdisciplinary studies, Weitzmann's own use of textual and literary research as the foundation of his methodology can be viewed as an early form of the same methodology. Certainly, the issue of the relationship between text and image has been newly revived as is evident by the appearance of journals such as *Word & Image* which are devoted to this theme. In addition, articles and monographs have proliferated from various scholars, among them, Svetlana Alpers, Michael Camille, W.J.T. Mitchell, and Kathleen Corrigan, which also directly address image questions in terms of affiliations to texts.¹³² Interest in current literary theories constitutes a portion of the new art-historical methodology and plays an important role more specifically in manuscript studies, a field where text and image form a peculiarly intimate association. Yet Weitzmann's own methodology reminds us that, in fact, there is nothing new in the advocacy of interdisciplinary research and that we must be careful lest our enthusiasm blind us to important distinctions. The difference is not in the quest to interpret the text-image relationship, but in the method of interpretation. Some of today's textual theories, if misconstrued or misapplied, could substitute for the genealogically based textual criticism in vogue when Weitzmann formulated his theory of manuscript illustration.

Explicit connections between Weitzmann and the Chicago lectionary project and its text-critical methodology have already been demonstrated. In addition, concurrent with his incorporation of the genealogical method into his picture criticism was the comparable use of this method by textual scholars in modern literature. These scholars, just as Weitzmann had for illustrated manuscripts, sought a methodological tool to organise editions of modern texts. They too

132. Earlier discussions include S. Alpers and P. Alpers, "'Ut Pictura Poesis'?" Criticism in Literary Studies and Art History', *New Literary History* 3 (1972) 437-458. In the same journal see O. Grabar, 'History of Art and History of Literature: Some Random Thoughts', 559-568. More recent discussions of text-image issues can be found in *Word & Image*, 1985-present. Other recent discussions are, W.J.T. Mitchell, *Iconology. Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago 1986); idem, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago 1994); M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass. 1992); and K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (New York 1992).

saw the potential for the genealogical method, apparently successful for reconstructing classical and biblical texts, to re-create the authorial original. Initially, textual critics such as W.W. Greg adapted the method to handle particular difficulties in establishing correct versions of Shakespeare's texts.¹³³ In this case, the critics were dealing with texts for which the authorial original did not exist. However, Fredson Bowers and other New Bibliographers further adapted the genealogical method to use for distinguishing a correct authorial version of a text for which a number of authorial versions exist. This developed into the theory of final intentions. The critic would choose the text that was closest to the author's final intentions, usually the earliest surviving text or pre-publication text. According to Bowers' method, this particular text corresponds to the lost original sought through the genealogical method. Also, the contaminations or corruptions which inevitably arose in copies of lost archetypes correspond to contaminations of an authorial text caused by interference from amanuenses, editors, or publishers. Thus, the textual critic of modern texts would work back through a series of authorial versions to a version free of emendations caused by the publication process. This version, an extant 'pure' archetype would serve as the critical edition of the text.¹³⁴

However, Bowers' theory of final intentions has since been challenged. Textual critics such as Jerome McGann have criticised the theoretical

133. W.W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950) 19-36; reprinted in *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*, eds. O.M. Brack, Jr. and W. Barnes, (Chicago 1969) 41-58. See also F.P. Wilson, 'Shakespeare and the "New Bibliography"', *The Bibliographical Society 1892-1942. Studies in Retrospect* (London 1945) 76-135.

134. Among the earliest formulations of this theory of final intentions was F. Bowers, 'Current Theories of Copy-Text, with an Illustration from Dryden', *Modern Philology*, 68 (1950) 19-36; reprinted in *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*, 59-72. See also idem, 'Some Principles for Scholarly Editions of Nineteenth-Century American Authors', *Studies in Bibliography* 17 (1964) 223-228; reprinted in *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*, 194-201. Bowers made his own critical intentions clear when he stated 'When an author's manuscript is preserved, this has paramount authority, of course' (197). For more detailed discussion see idem, *Bibliography and Textual Criticism* (Oxford 1964) and idem, *Textual and Literary Criticism* (Cambridge 1966). Another view of the theory of final intentions can be found in G.T. Tanselle, 'The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention', *Studies in Bibliography* 29 (1976) 167-211. See also P. Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford 1972) and D.C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York and London 1994).

basis for Bowers' textual method pointing out the various problems in attempting to establish one specific text as *the* text the author intended.¹³⁵ The major flaw as described by McGann was in making an author's final intentions the exclusive criterion for establishing a literary work. By enforcing a single criterion the critic failed to consider the other significant factors, 'the dynamic social relations' which inform literary production.¹³⁶ McGann suggested that texts must be considered in a much broader context which include cultural, social, and historical issues. Analysis of all aspects of a text will lead to a clearer conception of its relationship to the author, the public, and to institutions.¹³⁷ McGann's criticism of Bowers' method of textual criticism should sound familiar. The later members of the Chicago lectionary group criticised the premise of the project in similar fashion. In both cases, as with Weitzmann, the genealogical method, while providing a system of analysis, placed a too narrow focus in their research. The textual critics and Weitzmann in their quest for archetypes in order to interpret text and illustration, neglected to some degree the social, cultural, and historical circumstances which occasioned the production of texts and illustrated texts.

The utilisation of the genealogical method by literary scholars to evaluate modern texts situates the interdisciplinary nature of Weitzmann's methodology. He developed his theory of manuscript illustration in a scholarly milieu where this text-critical method was an attractive solution to problems posed in various fields: whether

135. J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago 1983). McGann provided a clear summary of Bowers' method. Using a poem of Byron as an example, he demonstrated how the idea of final intention can lead to misconceptions about an author's work.

136. *Ibid.*, 81.

137. *Ibid.*, 111-123. McGann stated: 'To determine copy-text and the rules for emendation on the elementary basis recommended by the Bowers' line of reasoning is to make crucial textual decisions without taking adequate and systematic account of all the relevant factors. A hypnotic fascination with the isolated author has served to foster an overdetermined concept of authorship, but (reciprocally) an underdetermined concept of literary work'. (121-122). See also D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts, The Panizzi Lectures 1985* (London 1986). McKenzie also criticised Bowers' method which he believed had been elevated to a scientific status by some textual critics. Like McGann, he has called for a more complex view of texts which would include consideration of the transmission, production, and reception of texts, what he defined as the sociology of texts.

to reconstruct the original and definitive lectionary text in order to re-create the Gospel text, or to determine the intended texts of modern authors, or to solve text-image relationships in illuminated manuscripts. Weitzmann's contemporaries acknowledged the interdisciplinary and textual construction of his methodological statement, and this was emphatically underscored in another review of *Roll and Codex* which appeared in the 1949 *Times Literary Supplement*. On the very same page as this review was placed the announcement of Bowers' creation of the Bibliographical Society at the University of Virginia and a new journal devoted to dissemination of New Bibliographical theory.¹³⁸ Implicit connection between the fields of art history and literature was effected.¹³⁹ Moreover, Bowers produced his own hefty statement of methodology within two years of the publication of *Roll and Codex*, emphasising the need to construct a single method for literary scholars to use.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, Weitzmann's interest in interdisciplinary studies and use of textual methodology to explicate text-image questions in manuscript illumination was undeniably timely and up-to-date. Yet like the textual methodology used, Weitzmann's methodology was not timeless.¹⁴¹ As today's art historians employ new methodologies

138. *The Times Literary Supplement*, 22 July 1949, 480.

139. Contact between scholars in New Testament studies and literature is also evident. See V.A. Dearing, 'Methods of Textual Editing', Paper presented at a seminar on bibliography at the William Andrews Clark Library, University of California at Los Angeles, 12 May 1962; reprinted in *Bibliography and Textual Criticism*, 73-101 and idem, 'Some Notes on Genealogical Methods in Textual Criticism', *Novum Testamentum* 9 (1967) 278-297.

140. F. Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton 1949). He stated, for example, 'The concern of the descriptive bibliographer, on the other hand, is to examine every available copy of an edition of a book in order to describe in bibliographical terms the characteristics of an ideal copy of this edition, to explain and describe the printing and textual history of the edition, and finally to arrange it in a correct and logical relationship to other editions' (6).

141. Attention here has been paid to the construction and implementation of a specific methodology in the discipline of manuscript studies. Similarly, however, Otto Demus created a restrictive methodological approach to church decoration; in his case, he imposed a system in order to elucidate the genesis of post-iconoclastic monumental painting. His classic statement is *Byzantine Church Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London 1948). Demus' approach has dominated discussions of church decoration since its publication, but it is now being reconsidered. One such reconsideration is T.F. Mathews, 'The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration', *Perkins Journal* 41 (July 1988) 11-21.

in their research, it is equally appropriate to be critical of these interdisciplinary methodologies. There are limits to what any methodology can achieve in the interpretation of text or image. While the re-assessment of Kurt Weitzmann's oeuvre has been underway for nearly two decades, his premises continue to influence even some of his harshest critics. Accordingly, just as scholars in the fields of New Testament studies and literature have questioned the methodology and goals of a previous generation, so too must we critically redefine Weitzmann, his methodology, and his textual sources as we critique our own.

*University of Oregon,
Eugene, Oregon*

Modern Greek in the European Union: Language, Economy and Culture

MARIANNA SPANAKI

For those teaching and researching in Modern Greek Studies outside Greece, discussion of the eighties and nineties is characterised by reference to changes in Greek political life, as well as in the Greek educational system and policy making directly connected with Greece's entry into the European Union.¹ Greece became a member of the EU as recently as 1981. PASOK, viewed membership as temporary but these claims were dropped after 1985. In the same period changes introduced into the linguistic system of the Greek language led to discussions of educational and cultural interest.² More recently, however, certain developments concerning the role of strong languages in the European Union have brought to the fore issues concerning

1. See A. Fatouros, 'Political and Institutional Facets of Greece's Integration in the European Community', in *Greece, the new Europe, and the changing international order*, eds. H.J. Psomiades, S.B. Thomadakis (New York 1993) 28-42. See also in the same volume, 'Greek National Identity in an Integrated Europe and a Changing International Order', 57-78; S. Verney, 'From the Special Relationship to Europeanism, 1981-1989', in *Greece, 1981-89: the Populist Decade*, ed. R. Clogg (London 1993) 131-153. For political culture see N.P. Diamandouros, 'Politics and Culture in Greece, 1974-89', *ibid.*, 1-25. See also R. Panagiotopoulou, 'Greeks in Europe: Antinomies in National Identities', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1997), 349-370. For other matters related to Greece in the EU, see A. Pollis, 'Gender and Social Change in Greece: the Role of Women', in *The Greek Socialist Experiment: Papandreou's Greece 1981-1989*, ed. T.C. Kariotis (New York 1992) 279-303. See also A. Moschonas, 'European Integration and Prospects of Modernisation', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 15 (1997), 325-348.

2. T.S. Pavlidou, 'Linguistic Nationalism and European Unity: The case of Greece', in F. Coulmas, ed., *A Language Policy for the European Community, Prospects and Quandaries* (New York 1991) 279-289. In the same volume see also B. De Witte, 'The Impact of European Community rules on linguistic policies of the member States', 163-177; and G. Campani, J. Gundara, 'Overview of Intercultural policies within the European Union', *European Journal of Intercultural Studies* 5.1 (1994) 3-8.

weak languages, those spoken by less people in the European Union, and their related cultures. This has once again opened the forum of discussion regarding matters of linguistic survival and cultural variety.

The promotion of a European identity marked debates in Greece and this is clearly reflected in attitudes taken by the various political parties. Furthermore, the wider notions of eastern Mediterranean culture and of the role of Greece in the Balkan peninsula has led scholars and planners both inside and outside Greece to reflect on modernising the teaching of language taking into account the advantages of the new technologies and identifying gaps in the markets, thus creating projects to teach Greek for specific purposes along with other languages available through the same products. The Greek language has no linguistic sisters in Europe and this may explain why the Greek government as well as the Centre for the Greek Language (an institution attached to the Greek Ministry of National Education and Religions with a free rein to operate on academic but also political grounds), took the initiative in organising a colloquium on language hegemony and re-evaluating less spoken languages. At the same time the minister of culture, Evangelos Venizelos, held similar meetings to argue the issue of equality between the different cultures of the European Union. These initiatives were supported by gatherings of personalities, politicians and scholars of international repute and some with institutional power to influence policy making. The aim of such meetings has been to strengthen the position of less widely spoken languages in the 'post colonial' era as the millennium approaches, by voicing the language of critical awareness which has emerged from current international sociological approaches to language matters and cultures of the postdoctoral climate alongside policy making agendas. Concurrently, in a country with a censorship past and political polarisation of language issues, the agenda of politics and linguistic views may still partly fill the vacuum of power for the intense language-related criticism preceding the recent measures which led to the legalisation of the demotic. This has led to gradual elimination of the polarisation between those supporting Katharevousa and those supporting Demotic. Modern Greek Language is now taught differently in schools and there is a lot of criticism from educationalists and parents concerning issues such as language learning which resembles

that made in other countries regarding poor spelling and vocabulary skills.

With regard to Greek outside Greece, the element is now taught in more Universities across the European Union, and there are hopes that this may have lasting effects in promoting Greek culture outside Greece. The modernisation of the syllabus for the study of the Greek language and culture and the institutional support which it received from the EU enabling the strengthening of Modern Greek Studies abroad and thus contributed to the learning of cultures outside those related to more widely spoken languages across the EU. Discussion will focus on the following areas: firstly, aspects of language policy adopted in Greece in order to balance diglossia; secondly I will briefly examine aspects of the contribution made from the EU in the development of Greek Studies in Universities across European countries, and the strengthening of their teaching of the Greek language and culture, films, literature, music produced in Greece in Universities across EU countries. Finally, I shall refer to British interests in Modern Greek Studies, and some recently produced poetry and fiction on Greek themes.

The history of Greek diglossia has received a lot of attention by researchers.³ However, research has largely ignored the effects it has had on forms of language practised by journalists, politicians, church administrators and preachers, medicine as well as the legal profession. Greek diglossia covers a long span in history starting from the 1830s, the decade of the founding of the Greek state and moves to the years following the fall of the Greek junta (1967-1974).⁴ By 1976, as part of an internal linguistic policy, a directive had been issued putting a formal end to the era of diglossia. Changes such as the single accent,

3. For matters of diglossia, see D. Sotiropoulos, 'Diglossia and the national language question in modern Greece', *Linguistics* 197 (1977) 5-31. For the Greek language see P. Mackridge, *The Modern Greek language* (Oxford 1987).

4. For issues of language and literature see R. Beaton, 'From military dictatorship towards international integration 1967-1992', in *An Introduction to Modern Greek literature* (Clarendon Oxford 1994) 262-368. For an overview of current developments in Greek sociolinguistics, see C. Kakava, 'Sociolinguistics and Modern Greek: past, current and future directions', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 126 (1997) 5-34.

facilitated the learning process, thus making Greek a more accessible language for the foreign learner. In Greece, school books had to be rewritten and Demotic Greek was officially institutionalised as the language of administration and education. The average child saved 4,500 hours of learning time by not having to learn the accents, time that the educational system could channel elsewhere. The evaluation of these changes and the effects they had on elementary and secondary school education are yet to be discussed. However, observations made in the class outside Greece may always serve as indications of matters arising from what are, the relatively speaking recent changes. For example, a Westminster university tutor teaching an MA translation studies course and using Modern Greek as one of the working languages, reported that Greek students who currently study there often find it difficult to work with Katharevousa. In the last twelve years, issues of language impoverishment have been connected to the lessening of the teaching of ancient Greek. Concern was voiced from prominent poets such as Odysseas Elytis and performers such as Dionysis Savopoulos; also by prominent members of political parties while Ancient Greek still attracted the attention of scholars and students inside Greece but the view that Ancient Greek was not always welcomed by educationalists across all the levels of schooling. Outside Greece, on the other hand teaching Modern Greek without any previous knowledge of the language or studies in Ancient Greek was regularly practised. In any case, ethnocentric views on language have a long history in Greece. But in recent years the symbolic function of Katharevousa and Demotic has faded away. New discussions have emerged concerning the use and abuse of the Greek language by the younger generation. Recent research raises issues regarding the description of the state of the language.⁵ Nonetheless, linguistic nationalism and laws for the protection of other languages have been to operate not just in Greece but also in France and Germany.⁶ Administrators and educationalists from these countries have expressed

5. A. Iordanidou, I. Androutsopoulos, 'Teenage Slang in Modern Greek', *Greek Linguistics* 95, *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Greek Linguistics* (Salzburg 1997) 267-276.

6. F. Coulmas, *Language and Economy* (New York 1992): for French, see 32, 35, 59-61, 11, 122, 187, 194, 261, 267; for German see 29, 31, 34, 59-61, 114-119, 307.

concern about the decline of the interest in their respective languages and have exercised pressures to see this trend reversed in countries like Greece where English leads foreign language learning. Schools and Universities now teach a broader curriculum in foreign languages than earlier years but one hopes that further developments may take place. In recent years, we have realised that graduates from Greek Universities who had to study foreign bibliography as part of their studies (medical profession, linguistics, international studies) developed their language skills and are usually able to perform adequately in multilingual educational environments. Contrary to this, and quite surprisingly, those who study for the degree of Modern Greek Philology are on occasions found to be not sufficiently prepared for the study of their chosen subjects abroad, for which foreign bibliography is a requirement (comparative literature, critical theory, stylistics to mention but a few areas in which there is ample international bibliography). This may suggest an antiquated mode of understanding the advantage of using foreign languages in the contemporary syllabus, and one could infer weaknesses with regard to the teaching of foreign languages. There is an awareness, however, of existing problems and the need for modernisation. In view of the closure of the registers for state teaching jobs, future students in Greece may think twice before they apply to particular universities, thus encouraging the curriculum modernisation. In 1997 the minister of Education, Gerasimos Arsenis, announced as his plan to start new schools for foreign languages open to the general public. Here Greece may follow the Spanish model of the few State Language Schools open to the public for foreign language learning. Thirty such centres are expected to be created, teaching, among other languages, Greek for foreigners.

Greece however is not in a position to support the promotion of the national language in the way that France or Germany do. English, French and German dominate the EU institutions, a situation that is unlikely to be modified. Besides, it is argued that the support of the weak official languages may not be effective in the EU, one reason being that these programmes may come into direct conflict with policies followed for minority languages spoken within the member states of the European Union. In recent years, Modern Greek benefited directly from the support received from EU funds but also the continuation

of programmes directly funded by the member-states. This support may in future prove vital for the continuation if not the strengthening of existing teaching programmes. Greece has generously supported open lectures and seminars, and on occasions private foundations such as the Luxembourg A.J. Leventis Foundation or the London Hellenic Foundation have allocated funds facilitating the teaching, research and publication of Modern Greek Studies, stepping in to cover the lack of adequate funding available from institutional sources for educational purposes related to the less widely spoken languages. This generosity does not mean, however, that foundations can replace state or regional budget funding channelled to the teaching and research of the less widely spoken languages.

In many EU member-states, there are a number of University departments teaching Modern Greek. There is however no Department of Modern Greek Studies for Overseas Students in any of the Greek Universities. Language courses are on offer, and the School of Greek Language attached to the Aristotle University Salonica, has now been in operation for a number of years, as have various summer programmes in the Kapodistrian University Athens. The latter offers a graduate course on teaching Greek as a foreign language and the University of Crete has begun taking foreign students for language learning and graduate Erasmus placements. Overseas students are welcome to follow the existing lectures for their degree courses in any area of Modern Greek Studies, across all Greek Universities, an opportunity often not used to its full potential since many students spending the year abroad have not reached the required standard for attending lectures, having embarked on their studies as beginners of the Greek language and Modern Greek Studies Departments teach almost exclusively in Greek. Although educational systems can be very different across the different member-states, what we have witnessed over the last few years is an increase of student interest in Modern Greek Language courses in France, Spain and less so in Germany and Italy.⁷ The position of Modern Greek is by tradition

7. I have reached this conclusion after consulting data collected by the Centre for the Greek Language, Salonica as well as from personal research carried out in relevant countries.

associated by Byzantine Studies and less so with classics, a situation clearly related to the history of Philological Studies. Modern Greek has also developed in departments specialising in Ancient Greek, even though this was not completely unproblematic. The status accompanying the older subjects often prevented the development of Modern Greek outside Greece. The German educational system offers a good example of this. Although there are several classics' departments with professors of ancient history in Germany there are no twentieth century historians, specialists on Greece attached to departments teaching components of modern Greek studies. There are, of course, philologists and, in the last few years, an appointment was made in Berlin at a senior level, not using the ladder of the older subjects but remaining close to interests in philology. It has, one hopes, become clear that by the days of Krumbacher, the path had opened, and in the course of this century, a hundred years of cultural production has led us in the twentieth century. Studies in the twentieth century are indeed well established in English, French or German. The developing studies in modern Greek literature attract attention from comparativists who often have access to literary culture by the means of translation. Many areas of research including anthropology, linguistics, media studies, literary culture, politics and history are now cultivated in Britain.

More widely in the EU the Erasmus programme has had significant effects in these developments, as it has enabled mobility between students and staff, thus contributing to the exchange of ideas, and research projects, as well as the renewal of academic curricula across European Universities. Issues of modernising the curriculum and promoting interdisciplinary research have been raised and changes will follow. Here I have to say that this had also certain positive effects in Greece in the sense that a few years back the more traditional departments of history benefited from the contact with their more enterprising, theoretically-minded colleagues from other European countries, who were free from the burden of dictatorship and censorship. Departments teaching modern Greek philology opened their doors to literary criticism and comparative literature. In the post censorship era, archives opened to foreign scholars, as well as readings of aspects of Greek history were debated. The dialogue created a

climate of exchange. The fruitful contact also led to some co-operation in establishing language products for advanced learners which did not always meet with further help from the EU. Projects under LINGUA, including Greek, are under development and the Lingua Compendiums offer relevant information for the participating institutions.⁸

We shall now turn to some details concerning the teaching of Modern Greek in some member countries. In Spain, Greek is taught in ten Language Schools in University towns and there are about fifteen universities with a more or less developed programme in Modern Greek studies. In Germany, there are twelve Universities teaching an element of Modern Greek and four of them offer a more advanced programme of studies, all offering to supervise final year dissertation (magister) in Modern Greek. In France, there are about twenty-three Universities with an element of Modern Greek, five of which have advanced programmes leading to degrees. Greek is also included in special degree programmes offering translation and interpreting skills across Europe. Greece may be a small country but there is an immense amount of books translated into Greek in all areas of studies. At the same time the number of bookshops offering foreign books in sciences and humanities has increased in University towns as well as in tourist resorts. Dictionaries for engineering, economics and other areas appear to be published on the basis of the development of technology in areas such as computing etc. The Association for Terminology in Greece recently held a conference covering all areas of interests from critical literary theory to computers, artificial intelligence and economics. It must be noted that following the international practice many Greek scientists publish their academic articles in English in order to get access to wide academic readership. Only the highly industrial countries, such as Japan, for example, can

8. See Vasso Tokatlidou, 'European Language Policy, Theory and Praxis', in *International Colloquium on Strong-Weak Languages in the European Union. Aspects of Linguistic Hegemonism*. (Ministry of National Education and Religions, Centre for the Greek Language, Thessaloniki 1997) 56-58. See also J. Mey, 'The voices of society', *ibid.*, 39-40; K. Risager, 'The language policy of foreign language teachers', *ibid.*, 49-50, M. Kubhandani, 'How to counteract the tendencies of linguistic hegemonism: some philosophical issues', *ibid.*, 33-34.

afford to translate scientific texts to an extent unrivalled even in Germany. Greece, remains primarily a country of tourism, and thus, related economic activities, as well as trade with neighbouring countries create fields of language interest. This may also explain why there is an increased interest in Modern Greek in certain Balkan countries, Eastern Europe bordering the EU countries. The economic aspect is rather strong, if we are to compare, for example, University students expressing a preference for learning Greek and French. Motives for learning Greek exist but understandably on a more restricted basis. It is clear that Greek is one of the lesser spoken and indeed lesser used national official languages of EU.

Nonetheless modernising the European University syllabus remains a priority. Culture produced in Greece during the 60s gave all the indications of a European co-development, a process which was interrupted by the junta. The cultural production, however, which came after 1974 and more particularly after 1985, suggests that a new generation of writers was experimenting, as other writers were elsewhere.⁹ Many artists lived and worked in other EU countries, mainly Italy and France, whereas in more recent years, women film and theatre directors have come to the front of the performing arts. In 1997, the Wurtzburg festival gave a film award to the film maker Maria Iliou. Literature from Greece is now widely translated in other EU languages, even though it still remains less well known. This relates to practicalities concerned with promotion, visibility and conscious efforts to bring works from small countries to the attention of a wider readership abroad. Obsession with national history on the part of Greek authors has given way to fiction of merits, often resembling Latin American writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez, the difference being that magic realism emerges out from the Neohellenic tradition, the folktales, the oral and the literary culture produced in the Greek world. The work of Dimitris Kalokyris and

9. A. Gotovos, 'Linguistic Continuity and Educational Segregation in Germany', in *Language Education and Greek Immigrants in Europe* (Athens 1977), 183-191. For Britain see Marinela Karyolemou, 'The Greek Cypriot Community in Great Britain', *ibid.*, 209-214.

Zyranna Zatelli provide a good example of this.¹⁰ Moreover, issues that were not previously recounted in Greek without nationalistic overtones are now fictionalised in a post-modern manner, such as the emerging writings on the Ottoman past. Fiction by Rea Galanaki is indicative of this interest. New writers emerge from minority communities. In particular, the Greek Jewish writers have offered themes and stories related to the experiences of their communities in forms paralleling those in other countries — memoirs, novels, short stories. Eftychia Nachman, Albert Nar, Michel Fais offer an interesting perspective in this direction. This production, in my opinion, should be part of all curriculum programmes abroad for reasons related to the learning process and the understanding of minority issues worldwide.

The South East European experience and the History of the Balkans, the East Mediterranean interconnections, are all reflected in literature, films, and music. Research done in music by Greek and non-Greek scholars emphasising the connections starting from the Mediterranean coasts moving to the Balkans and coming down to Northern Africa. Modern Greek has also developed as an interest in Balkan countries and, in the new climate, students have expressed interest in Greece as a neighbouring country but also as a member of the EU. On the other hand, the very notion of EU has become synonymous with contemporaneity; and that was in very broad terms this has been beneficial to a state with a history of looking to Antiquity for status and prestige. Moving further into the present, the European membership coincided with the strengthening of institutions such as the National Gallery which organised a lot of exhibitions of European interest as well as the Megaro Mousikis, which has enriched Athens with year-round musical programmes of classical music where internationally reputed foreign orchestras perform. New museums have been created, among them the Jewish museum in Salonica, which will function also as a research centre for the Sephardic tradition, the design museum in Salonica as well as the film museum. In addition, there are

10. M. Spanaki, 'Το φανταστικό και η ανανέωση της πρόσφατης ελληνικής πεζογραφίας, Καλοκύρης και Ζατέλη', in *Estudios Neogriegos en España e Ibero-america*, eds. M. Morfakidis, I. Garcia Galvez (Granada 1987) 267-279.

programmes for documenting traditional actions in performance art as part of the cities network and cultural events and certain festivals are specially funded. It is equally possible today to find a doctor being president of an Anastenaria club, a tradition of dancing on hot coals originating in Northern Thrace among the Greek communities or a civil engineer singing the songs of his native region in a traditional choir.¹¹ By comparison with urban life in Britain, people in Greece often demonstrate a much stronger relationship and loyalty to certain artistic traditions from their regions of origin, and by implication to their place of family and culture. Here, I would also like to point out that in urban forums of traditional performance arts was strengthened by the special programmes operated from local government departments within certain municipal authorities across Greece and some private dance schools. A good example is the case of the Komotini festival. On the other hand, the proliferation of TV channels in Greece and the availability of European channels free of charge has led to certain changes regarding traditional forms of entertainment in Greece. Multilingual programmes are now available and the Greek channels often have a wide and varied schedule. Greek Media and Communication studies constitute a developing field within European Media. In Britain, twentieth-century Greek history has attracted the attention of creative writers such as R. Beaton and Louis Depernieu and themes of Greek interest have been developed in poems by David Constantine and Ruth Padel. This does not simply suggest the legacy of Lawrence Durrell and George Seferis. Once again, it marks the passage from Greek literature to Greek themes in English literature. Yet it poses a number of problems with regard to visibility of contemporary Greek literature translated into English. Bookstores rarely stock Modern Greek fiction in translation, instead, attention is drawn to books on Greece. In doing so, bookshops lead those wishing to buy books on Greece to fiction, written by British writers. In future this could be altered by arranging to put Greek fiction next to British fiction, thus facilitating the contact of the British public with Greek writers.

11. Loring M. Danforth, *Firewalking and Religious Healing* (Princeton 1989) 168-213.

So, where does all this leave us with regard to Greek in the European Union? On the one hand following the support from the Erasmus programmes, better co-operation has been established amongst the universities across the European Union. New books have been written for the teaching of the Greek language and research has developed in all fields. On the other hand, Greece may have to further the development of its programmes for the teaching of modern Greek Studies for overseas students, as in future some may wish to take advantage of courses offered in Greece not available abroad. European member states may also have to honour their commitment for a modernised programme of studies regarding weak languages by effectively supporting the relevant teaching and research in member-states. At the same time, culture produced in Greece may have to be channelled properly and institutionally supported so the European public may get to contact with products from the current developments in Greek cultural life. Linguistic hegemony and lingua francas may bring with them a strong loyalty to national and regional cultures, thus integrationist policies may indeed meet with obstacles. And intercultural models of education may need to continue addressing issues in societies with minorities of Greek speaking background as well as minorities of other ethnic, religious and linguistic background living in Greece. EU language and culture policy measures and subsequent institutional practices can serve linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe by actively supporting the renewal process of the relevant educational needs. Greek, Portuguese, Danish and Dutch deserve a continuous support from EU member-states. In the end, educational policies remain political choices and modern Greek will certainly benefit within the EU provided that University degree oriented programmes on the lesser spoken languages and cultures are not disadvantaged by wider measures taken to support a less diversified curriculum in the broad area of the study of European Languages and Cultures.

*Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies
University of Birmingham*

Not new but novel. Notes on the historiography of Byzantine law

BERNARD H. STOLTE

It is some time since the late Alexander Kazhdan undertook a private crusade under the title 'Do we need a new history of Byzantine law?'¹ Of course his answer was in the affirmative. In one sense one would be unable to disagree; in another sense, however, one ought to answer that the history Kazhdan was asking for would not so much be new; rather it would be a novelty, as it had not been written before.

These pages will not be the new history Kazhdan would have wished, but they will be a partial answer to his rhetorical question: they will sketch the origins of the 'old' history of Byzantine law as well as some of the contributions a 'new' history may make.

I

Kazhdan complained about the one-sided approach of legal historians to Byzantine law: they only look at normative texts, at the formal sources of the law (the 'law in books'), and neglect material of a different kind, such as non-legal literature, documentary evidence, and so on, and so forth (the 'law in action'). His main thesis is that whereas the formal sources give an impression of immutability, the evidence from daily life shows evolution and change. Far from only corresponding to Byzantium's image of 'traditionalism, imitativeness, [and] stagnation', the law also shows 'alteration and change' (p. 10); legal historians until now have emphasised the traditionalism and should move to more adventurous grounds, and by doing so contribute to a more dynamic picture of Byzantine society. Kazhdan illustrates his case with examples taken from various parts of the (private) law,

1. Paper first given in Frankfurt am Main in 1981 and eventually published in *JÖB* 39 (1989) 1-28.

such as the law of persons, the law of property, etc.

Kazhdan's complaint is an example of the different expectations by lawyers and historians when they turn to legal history. Even when they are able to agree on what is 'the law', they often are interested in different aspects, and unfortunately these interests appear to be mutually exclusive. While lawyers are predominantly concerned with the way the system is supposed to operate, with institutions, legislation, judicature, and legal doctrine, historians tend to concentrate on the results of this operation which one perceives in practice, on the way law influences society and in turn is influenced by society. Unless the lawyer and the historian are themselves aware of the difference, they may be, and often are, disappointed in each other's work.

The disappointment may be felt particularly keenly in the case of Byzantine law. Not only did it start life as Roman law, after the sixth century it continued to be dominated by Justinianic Roman law, both formally and substantively, which superficially gives the impression of great continuity. That over the centuries Byzantine law nonetheless did not remain static and unchanged in its practical application almost goes without saying, but Kazhdan seemed to credit legal historians with such views.²

The task of the legal historian may be defined differently by lawyers and historians. Personally I do not subscribe to the view that it is possible to speak about *the* task and *the* method of legal history. I prefer the less pretentious idea that, put simply, what one wishes to know determines the method that is best followed. Lawyers and historians sometimes wish to know different things and therefore go about their business differently. When they turn out to be interested in the same problems, they would be fools not to try to profit from each other's work, but can only do so if they approach it with realistic expectations. As one who believes he understands the historian's point of view, but whose mind has been incurably affected by a legal education, I shall try to sketch the historiographical background of

2. See, e.g., pp. 3-4: 'The legal texts are the law itself . . . [a] position shared by a number, probably the vast majority, of the scholars of Byzantine law'; p. 9: 'those who think the legal text is the reality'.

Byzantine law. As we shall see, interest in the history of Byzantine law originated with the lawyers.

II

Byzantine studies in general have taken a very long time to emancipate themselves from the classics. Byzantinists usually had started their careers as hellenists, and the greatest use of Byzantium was generally held to have been that of preserving and passing on the ancient Greek texts.³ Studying Byzantine culture for its own sake is a relatively recent phenomenon, just as studying Byzantium on the base of sources other than texts. Historians who have a good grasp of the entire field are still thin on the ground. But it is true to say that Byzantine studies in general have grown into an independent discipline.

Within that discipline Byzantine law deserves attention for its own sake and for the light it may shed on various aspects of Byzantine society. But here, too, the history of the study of Byzantine law tells a different story.

Interest in the legal history of Byzantium is essentially a product of the Renaissance. The rediscovery of Greek, sung in so many accounts of the cultural history of the early modern period, is relevant to legal history, too. One might add, more relevant than to many other fields. The greater part of the *ius commune* of Europe as it had developed in the late Middle Ages was built on Roman law, and a good knowledge of its sources was therefore of practical importance. This second life of Justinian's legislation, of the Digest, Institutes, Code and Novels, continued on the European Continent until the modern codifications, at least until the upheaval caused by the French Revolution. The history of this second life, obviously in a society for which Justinian's legislation had not been made, is therefore one of continuous debate with Roman law, a debate which did not come

3. See on this, e.g., A. Cameron, *Use & Abuse of Byzantium* (inaugural lecture, King's College, London 1992; repr. in *ead.*, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* [Aldershot 1996] no. xiii).

to an end until the promulgation of the modern codes of law in the 18th/19th centuries.⁴

One of the phases in the second life of Roman law is the period which we conventionally indicate as 'legal humanism', a movement first discernible in the late fifteenth century in Italy, but which soon spread north of the Alps. Its main characteristic is the application of new methods in classical philology to Latin legal sources, especially Justinian's legislation.⁵ The increasing knowledge of Greek and the gradual availability of Latin and Greek manuscripts may be traced in legal scholarship from the sixteenth century onwards, and even had a limited influence on legal practice, provided legal practice admitted of the application of Roman law. For that reason it bypassed England largely unnoticed.

Thus interest in Byzantine legal sources has always been caused by interest in Roman law. Justinian's promulgation of a codification almost entirely in Latin, but meant to be used by a Greek-speaking population, immediately gave rise to Greek translations, summaries and commentaries. Even the Basilica, that grand enterprise of the Macedonian Renaissance, is basically a collection of Greek summaries of Justinian's legislation made in the sixth century, just as many of their scholia are translations from the Latin text going back to Justinian's own time.⁶ One of the great achievements of the humanists of the sixteenth century has been the discovery that it was possible to fill lacunae and restore or correct defective passages in the Latin text. In some places the lacunae had been caused by originally Greek

4. There are several surveys of the history of the law of Europe from this perspective. The English-speaking reader may be referred to, e.g., O.F. Robinson, T.D. Fergus, W.M. Gordon, *European Legal History: Sources and Institutions* (London 1994); F. Wieacker, *A History of Private Law in Europe*, transl. T. Weir (Oxford 1995).

5. H.E. Troje, *Graeca leguntur. Die Aneignung des byzantinischen Rechts und die Entstehung eines humanistischen Corpus iuris* (Forschungen zur neueren Privatrechtsgeschichte 18, Cologne-Vienna 1971).

6. The outline of this process of translating and commenting may be found in any modern history of the sources of late Roman and early Byzantine law; see, e.g., N. van der Wal-J.H.A. Lokin, *Historiae iuris graeco-romani delineatio. Les sources du droit byzantin de 300 à 1453* (Groningen 1985) chs. 3 and 4, and, more extensively, P.E. Pieler, 'Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur', in: H. Hunger (ed.), *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, II (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII.5.2, Munich 1978), 341-480, esp. 400-428.

passages within the Latin text, which had not been understood by western scribes and therefore had been omitted in the course of transmission of the text. In others Latin had been lost or was obviously corrupt. Often the Byzantine legal sources enabled the scholars to restore the text by a direct transplant of the Greek or by a reconstruction of the Latin text which the Greek translator or commentator apparently had read. Although many mistakes were made, the principle as such was sound and progress in philological method and availability of more manuscripts are the reasons that it is still being applied in textual criticism of Justinian's sources. A new edition of the *Codex Justinianus*, e.g., would derive much profit from work on the Byzantine sources since the war.

All this firmly locates Byzantine legal scholarship in traditional law faculties on the Continent, where Roman law is still part of the curriculum; Byzantine law, insofar as its Justinianic origin is directly or indirectly recognisable, is just another part of the Roman legal tradition. A revival of interest in Roman law in recent years, brought about by an interest in a common European legal heritage, unexpectedly benefits Byzantine legal studies as well, provided they orient themselves on the Roman background.

Small wonder, then, that a historian such as Kazhdan should express disappointment in the activities of at least part of the historians of Byzantine law. The answer obviously is that legal historians whose interest in Byzantium stems from an interest in Roman law often are not writing the history of Byzantine law, but are looking for additional sources which shed light on Roman law. They are the modern successors of humanist scholars such as Cujacius, Leunclavius and Fabrotus, to name just a few. Between these humanists and the twentieth century stand figures such as Zacharä von Lingenthal and the brothers Heimbach.

The consequences of the origins of Byzantine legal scholarship are twofold. On the one hand interest in Byzantium for its own sake has mostly been secondary to an interest in Byzantium as the repository of Roman law. On the other hand it is precisely this interest for the sake of Roman law that has always tended to emphasise the continuous rather than the changing in Byzantine law. If one further considers that scholarship on Byzantine law has been almost exclusively in the

hands of lawyers, and that lawyers are interested in Byzantine law as a system, investigating how it should rather than how it did in fact operate in Byzantine society, one can see why they should have produced the writings about which Kazhdan was complaining.

III

A history of Byzantine law inevitably shows the perspective from which it has been written. Most histories up till now sprang from an interest which was not Byzantine, but Roman. Thus they echoed the ideology of the Byzantine emperors who saw themselves as Romans, a claim which was already being contested in the Middle Ages on the occasion of the coronation of Charlemagne. These histories are in truth an account of the gradual loss of Roman identity of Byzantine law, without much attention for what was taking its place. Or rather they are an account of how much, despite all changes, was still Roman. They deal with continuity and change, with the emphasis on continuity.

Kazhdan wished for a different kind of history of Byzantine law, let us call it the *New History of Byzantine Law*. He constituted himself the representative of those who wished to emphasise change rather than continuity. But there was more to his complaint than just the wish for a shift of emphasis. Not only did he wish for a description of change, he also wanted history rather than law. This finds expression in his section on the sources of Byzantine law (pp. 2-10).

Legal sources may be distinguished in two different categories: formal, normative sources and 'other', 'diagnostic' sources. The first category comprises the commands issued by the recognised legislator, according to which he wanted the people to live and on which he wanted a judge to base his decision. It is the law as it should be. The second category includes everything that informs us about the way the law works in practice, from a document concerning an actual court-case to a painting that sheds light on a particular aspect, from a saint's life to an excavated building. The possibilities are unlimited: it comprises everything informative about law as it 'really was'.

The first category will always be the lawyer's first port of call. In Byzantium legislation stems first of all from the emperor and those who derive their authority from him. In ecclesiastical affairs we have

to add councils and bishops, to put it simply. The secular and ecclesiastical arms are literally the fountains from which the law flows; such laws as spring from these sources are the formal sources of Byzantine law. To them a number of treatises of the *Quellen des byzantinischen Rechts*, *Sources du droit byzantin* and Πηγές του βυζαντινού δικαίου have been devoted. These treatises, quite rightly, pay attention to the continuity of Roman law in Byzantine sources; after all, the formal sources present themselves prominently as continuous rather than novel.

The second category is the historian's treasure-house. Here 'law' provides one of many possibilities to find information about a society in the past. These sources are legal sources only to the extent that they show the workings of the law, but they are first and foremost sources of information about life itself. Of course they deserve the attention of the legal historian, and of course it would be foolish for a social historian to neglect them.

The normative sources are sources of information as well, but not all sources of information are normative sources. Insofar as there is such an animal as a legal historian, a species proclaimed extinct in 1963 by Arnaldo Momigliano,⁷ his greatest contribution to historical scholarship will be to produce an account of the activities of the legislator from a legal point of view. Thus he will place a document from legal practice in its proper perspective, and only thus will the social historian be able fully and correctly to analyse the information it contains. Needless to say, the best way to avoid misunderstandings is for that social historian to have a legal education as well — or vice versa.⁸

There is one other factor which has to be taken into account if we wish to have a proper understanding of the workings of Byzantine law, namely, that Byzantine law was in principle a codified system. In such a system the sentence of a judge must be based on one or more passages, 'articles', of a code of law previously issued by the legislator. In other words, the judge needs the authority of the legislator

7. A. Momigliano, 'Le conseguenze del rinnovamento della storia dei diritti antichi' [lecture delivered originally in 1963], in *idem*, *Sui fondamenti della storia antica* (Torino 1984) 185-203.

8. A point well made by Momigliano, 'Le conseguenze' (188-189).

and is unable to 'create' law on his own or to build on previous judgements only, so-called 'precedents'. It is this aspect that distinguishes Anglo-American common law from continental, codified law.

If we look for comparison at a modern codified system, say, at the civil law of France, it may strike one that that country still uses the *Code civil* of 1804 without substantial changes. At first sight this may seem improbable: has not France itself, has not French society changed since the days of the Revolution? Have not the Republics succeeded one another with an occasional Empire thrown in? Are we to believe that French law has continued imperturbed by the First World War and Vichy, to name but two? Of course not; yet the codes produced by the Revolutionaries of 1789 have hardly changed.

France, then, poses exactly the same problem to the historian as Byzantium does. The formal sources of law give a first impression of continuity. The historian who would proclaim that *therefore* society has remained unchanged for two centuries would not be taken seriously. The Byzantinist who would do the same because of the impressive continuity of Justinianic Roman law in formal Byzantine law up till the last days of Constantinople, indeed up till 1946 when, at last, modern Greece, which saw itself as a successor to the Byzantine state, promulgated its civil code, would meet with the same fate.

Obviously in a codified system we cannot trust the formal sources to present an adequate image of the society for which they were binding. The older the legislation that is being applied, the less representative it will be for that society, if it is taken at face-value. No legal historian thinks, to quote Kazhdan's words, 'that the legal text is the reality and that a complete enumeration of all legal texts constitutes the history of Byzantine law' (p.9). Kazhdan's curious corollary that there would be something wrong with a treatment of the sources as formal sources is to be rejected. The point rather is that the continuity in the formal sources poses the question of how legal practice managed to take account of social and economic change in the light of this continuity. In other words, the continuity of (Roman law in) the formal sources makes us aware of the fact that it was not the legislator who led the way. It is only awareness of the precise extent of the formal continuity that makes us appreciate the nature of change. That said, one has to agree with Kazhdan that a *New*

history of Byzantine law should be written from that perspective. That, I think, is the 'shape and character such a history might have' (p. 1). The following considerations may be useful for its prolegomena.

IV

Kazhdan had of course already noticed the 'archaism' of the *Basilica* (p. 8), that 'most important work of Byzantine law issued after the *Corpus* [of Justinianic legislation]' (p. 7). Leaving on one side the precise nature of the *Basilica*, which originally may have been meant as nothing more than a help to consult the Justinianic collections — in reality they obviously immediately must have replaced them, insofar as they were being used at all, for all practical purposes — it is certainly true that they presuppose territorial, administrative and social conditions that no longer existed in the ninth century. At first sight that must have made the application of the *Basilica* as legislation difficult, if not altogether impossible. One might even be tempted to see in the adoption of so curiously impractical a body of legislation something that is particularly informative about Byzantium. That temptation should be resisted.⁹

As has been said above, the legal history of continental Europe from the second half of the Middle Ages until the French Revolution is characterised by the preponderance of Roman law in the form of precisely that same Justinianic legislation. Its study was taken up again in the university of Bologna at the end of the 11th century and as a result it came to be applied widely in the practice of the learned lawyers, in ecclesiastical as well as in secular courts and in notarial practice. In late medieval Northern Italy the *Digest* and *Code* must have been at least as antiquated as they were in Byzantium a couple of centuries before, and perhaps even more so; yet they became an authoritative source of law — certainly not the only one — and took a long time to be replaced by 'modern' legislation. Their greatest use was not so much to be found in practical precepts of various nature, but in the method and concepts embodied therein which lent

9. That is not to say that it is unimportant: obviously there is a connection with a conscious (re)adoption of Byzantium's cultural past, namely the Justinianic age and perhaps 'classical' antiquity in general.

themselves to be applied in entirely different circumstances. The greatest achievement of the late medieval jurists is the development of a system of *ius commune*, in which local statutes and customary law, as well as civil Roman, canon and feudal law were incorporated.

In Byzantium the application, in whatever form, of the Justinianic legislation must have been facilitated by the continuous tradition of Roman law. As with every codification, the sections dealing with obsolete matter become obsolete themselves. They are not in the way and are not abrogated formally; they are simply ignored. The application of the Justinianic Corpus in the West has always been very uneven, too. The best way to demonstrate this fact is to take a manuscript or early printed edition of the Corpus with the standard body of annotations around its text, the so-called *glossa ordinaria*: the passages ignored by the glossators are those without practical interest. *Quod non agnoscit glossa, non agnoscit curia*.

V

Byzantium, then, was not different from other medieval states in that it did not replace the 'archaic' Justinianic legislation with a modern codification. The very last thing one may deduce was that these societies have remained static. It means nothing more than that legislation was not the only way in which they adapted their law to changing circumstances. In this they were surprisingly modern. For a modern state to issue legislation it needs a political majority for a specific rule. If no broad consensus is to be found for any point of view, the chances for such a rule to be acceptable both in and out of parliament are nil. As a result the old rule — if available — remains in force; it is then left to the judiciary to find a satisfactory way of dealing with cases that reach the courts, without satisfactory legislation at their disposal. Dutch examples of this century are the working strike and, recently, euthanasia.

It goes without saying that the absence of reforming legislation is not the same as absence of social change. Whatever the reason for the lack of such legislation, be it political problems or simply lack of a wish to reform by such means, or indeed the absence of a perception that something has changed at all, the historian will not be able to use this information without additional sources.

The best way to check the information of formal legal sources is the consultation of reports on court cases. Unfortunately such reports are not often available. For Byzantium one of the very few opportunities to see what a court is doing is the Peira, a collection of cases dealt with by Eustathios Rhomaios in the High Court of Constantinople.

Simon has studied the Peira and published his first impressions in 1973 under a title that could be paraphrased as: 'How did judges reach their decisions in the High Court of Justice in Constantinople?'¹⁰

Simon's paper is highly instructive and so is, in a different respect, its use by Kazhdan. Here is one of Kazhdan's examples of a change in Byzantine law vis-à-vis the Justinianic position: 'It was D. Simon who drew attention to the statement of Peira 75.3 that refuted the old legislation (e.g., Cod. Just. 7:62.19); the old rule that made decisions of the praetorian prefect beyond appeal was abrogated' (p. 10). This suggests that a law explicitly stating that it was not permitted to appeal from a decision of the praetorian prefect, was no longer binding ('abrogated'). On the contrary: precisely because the law was still binding, a judge had to make a distinction in order to be able to say that it was in fact possible to appeal against a sentence by the praetorian prefect (ἐπαρχος). For this purpose he resorted to historical interpretation: the eparchos of the Basilica was the prefect giving judgment with 'axes and swords' (i.e., the insignia of the Roman praetor) 'according to ancient custom'. This type of prefect no longer exists and therefore we are not now bound by this law. The fact that this justification was needed proves that the law had not been abrogated: the primacy of the law was saved.¹¹ Other examples

10. D. Simon, *Rechtsfindung am byzantinischen Reichsgericht* (=Wissenschaft und Gegenwart, Juristische Reihe 4, Frankfurt/Main 1973); Greek transl. by I.M. Konidares (Athens 1982).

11. Kazhdan's treatment of the Peira is flawed in another respect, too. Drawing on one of his earlier papers he maintains, in order to show that Byzantine law developed, that 'the use of the Basilica in the Peira was selective'; certain parts of the Basilica 'were barely employed', which presumably should be taken as a sign of a change in the law. Not only does this suggest that all parts of a law are initially used in equal measure, which is nonsense, but more serious, it passes over the question of the competence of a court. Surely one should first ascertain for what type of cases the Court of the Hippodrome was competent before one can comment on the type of law applied by that court? In fact Kazhdan is making the same point himself when stating that the canonists will use different parts of the Basilica (p. 9).

advanced by Simon support the view that to the Byzantines the law was the law; precisely therefore these careful distinctions had to be made. Simon's paper on the law of matrimonial property in the Peira,¹² which probably is fairly inaccessible to the non-lawyer, does not essentially alter the picture.¹³

I have chosen this example as it clearly demonstrates the relation in Byzantium between the law in books and the law in action. I readily agree that the practical result of an abrogation of a law and its non-application by virtue of historical interpretation is the same. Yet I should like to make the point that a law which is not abrogated continues to exist and may therefore be applied on a future occasion, just as it also has been applied this time: as the judge considers himself bound by the law, he argues on the basis of the law and has to explain how he interprets it. The law in the sense of the formal norm has not changed, the law in the sense of its application has. This is not just a quibble; it explains a mystery which seems to baffle those whose minds have been left undisturbed by legal training in the continental tradition, namely that evolution is possible in a seemingly static system. In other words, as far as Byzantium is concerned, there need not be a contradiction between the repetition of the same Justinianic norms and a developing society. The lawyers' technique of interpretation makes it possible to adapt to changing circumstances.

Do these adaptations create new law? At the end of another study of the Peira, Oikonomides remarks that 'There cannot be any doubt about his [i.e., the author of the Peira's] intention to create a normative book. But in doing so, not only did he repeat in excerpts what appeared to be important and useful in the existing legislation, but also he granted paramount importance to the precedents, the judicial decisions, and made them appear as if they were real laws, in spite of the fact

12. 'Das Ehegüterrecht der Pira', *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986) 193-238. On the law of matrimonial property see also D. Simon (ed.), *Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 22, Munich 1992).

13. Simon's own analysis may be different; see his statement in *Ehegüterrecht*, 195, no. 5: 'Die Gesichtspunkte "totale Kauistik", "fehlende Dogmatik" etc. scheinen mir auch heute noch richtig, wenngleich vertiefter Erläuterung zugänglich.'

that they often were arrangements, simple compromises between law and common sense, influenced by concrete pressures surrounding a given case. By codifying them, he was in the process of creating some new rules.¹⁴ What we are dealing with here is the wider problem of whether, within a codified system, precedents are binding. The question thus arises to what extent precedents were binding in Byzantium. If so, it is inevitable that some part of the role of the lawgiver falls to the judiciary, and that there is less need for the legislator to intervene in formal law for it to adapt. The Byzantine legislator, by the way, never formally conceded such a role to the judiciary, which does not mean that it did not happen that way.

Even if precedents are not binding and therefore do not themselves constitute a formal source of law, the authority of precedents may be such that they fulfil in fact the role of a formal source of law. Here again instructive comparisons may be drawn with modern states with a codified system. As a rule precedents are not binding, as a codified system tends to reserve the primacy in formulating the law for the legislator. In theory, in any new case the judge starts with the law as laid down in the code and reaches a decision through a process of interpreting the norm in a given set of circumstances. In practice he will take into account standard interpretation as it had been developed in previous cases, especially those dealt with by the highest court of the country. Not only is this economical in terms of intellectual effort, it also furthers the predictability of legal decisions and therefore the security and stability of the law. In the process the application of the law changes with the times: in that respect one may speak of a change of the law. In the formal sense the law did not change. That could only happen through the promulgation of a new law, which was in Byzantium the prerogative of the emperor. As long as the emperor had not spoken, the judges could only be seen to have been applying the same law.

VI

The preceding sections have demonstrated, I hope, that reverting to

14. N. Oikonomidès, 'The "Peira" of Eustathios Rhomaios. An Abortive Attempt to Innovate in Byzantine Law', *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986), 169-192 (191).

Justinianic law and not having changed the law regularly by legislation need not be a sign of conservatism and immutability of Byzantine society. Moreover, the formal sources will never be able to tell the full story. The problem is that we often have information about the legislation in force, without the means to check how legal practice in the wider sense dealt with this legislation. No historian in his right mind will therefore take information from formal sources as first-hand evidence about social realities.

The lack of long series of reports of court cases in particular is annoying, for they would have been an ideal means to trace the changing application of the immutable Justinianic precepts. The evidence we do have consists of random mention of actual trials and occasional references to law in the wider sense of the word in non-legal literature, a selection from which has been given by Kazhdan. Although these sources transmit some idea of the development of Byzantine law, it should be stressed that they are at least as difficult to interpret and as unreliable a testimony as the phenomenon of unchanging formal law.

The exception of the *Peira* has been mentioned and brings fully to the fore the uneasy relation of formal law and its application in actual cases; what it also brings out is the wish to quote formal law as an authority for the decision that has been reached. A glance at, e.g., the *Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel* yields a different picture, but it has to be remembered that we are dealing with a different jurisdiction in a different age.

For the early period we may mention the papyri of Egypt and other parts of the Near East. Although they bring up the question of the representativeness of Egypt for the rest of the empire, at least they make us aware that the same province has preserved for us, on the one hand, formal law and learned literature, and on the other hand, court cases in which other, non-Roman, sources of law were being applied, too.

What happened in actual practice, then, has always been at some distance from the throne of the legislator and the desks of the commentators. That, however, is not unique for Byzantium.

VII

The preceding sections have also ignored several aspects of Byzantine law. No mention has been made, e.g., of customary law, nor of such

collections as the *Farmers' Law* or the *Rhodian Law*. No reference has been made to non-Roman components of Byzantine law generally. The relation between secular and ecclesiastical law has been neglected. Legal practice in Constantinople must have differed considerably from what went on in the provinces. And last but not least, there is a fascinating story to be told about the reception of Byzantine law outside the Byzantine empire. All these topics deserve to be included in a *New History of Byzantine Law*. They all will contribute to making the picture of Byzantine law less Roman and less continuous, and less strange to the historian of Byzantium. But if such a history would fail to stress the fact that Byzantine law, in the eyes of the Byzantines themselves, remained Roman, it would fail to notice the backbone of Byzantine law. The Byzantines never formulated a legal theory which, in their eyes, explained the incorporation of non-Roman elements into their law. Perhaps we may take the lack of such a theory as an indication of how unchanging they seemed to themselves.

VIII

The dissatisfaction felt by Kazhdan and other 'social' historians about the contributions made by legal historians is understandable, but mainly a case of mistaken identity. For various reasons, however, I believe that that sort of dissatisfaction will soon be a thing of the past. The reasons lie in the audience and the actors.

First, the audience. Kazhdan's crusade has brought out the need to be aware of the sort of questions one wants to be answered. Although Kazhdan seems to have been inspired by a desire to rehabilitate Byzantium and to free it of its traditional image of stagnation and immutability, the true nature of his dissatisfaction stemmed from a wish to ask questions that lie outside the traditional province of the legal historian. He was not interested, I believe, in the nature of the law and the legal process, but in the question to what extent the legal sources presented a picture of Byzantine society, a picture that could be used by the historian to write social history. That is not the sort of questions a lawyer asks all the time. If that would mean that he is not a historian, then so be it. The legal historian is a lawyer and a historian, usually in that order. In crude terms this means that as

soon as legal historians will be employed to teach history rather than law, they probably will be the more ready to ask themselves historical rather than legal questions. Kazhdan was the sort of historian who was at least aware of the possibilities legal sources contain for the historian. He was one of a new audience with different expectations, an audience that has not died with him. Does not an audience have some rights to determine the performance?

Second, the actors. Traditionally historians of Byzantine law were recruited from students of Roman law, just as Byzantinists came from the ranks of classicists. The number of 'romanists' with a good knowledge of Greek is decreasing fast. Students of Roman law are less and less able to read Greek sources independently. Of course there are many more translations than there used to be and to some extent they fill the gap, but a good knowledge of Greek is still indispensable to deal with Byzantine legal material, which in many cases has not even been published in a satisfactory, modern edition, let alone translated. Lawyers with Greek are rare these days, rarer than historians. As soon as legal historians are recruited from historians, they will produce by their very background a different kind of legal history. It will then, at some point in time, become necessary for a lawyer to complain and demand a *New History of Byzantine Law*, but not before Kazhdan's wishes have come true.

University of Groningen, Faculty of Law

SHORT NOTE

Some intertexts of the *Vita Stephani Junioris*

PETER HATLIE

In the introduction to her newly published edition of the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger*, M.-F. Auzépy spares no effort in her attempt to uncover the original motives and intentions underlying this fascinating hagiographic work.¹ Her results, though not the first or only word on this matter, are nonetheless provocative and original. This brief note will raise some questions about those findings and offer an additional point of view on the VSJ in connection with the contemporary writings of Theodore of Stoudios.

In Auzépy's view, the author of the VSJ introduced two central subtexts into his narrative. The one aimed at rehabilitating the reputation of nuns at the Trichinaraiai monastery on Mt. St. Auxentios who, according to Auzépy, had conceivably accepted iconoclasm in the real time of the VSJ, c. 730-765. His goal was to give them an iconodule past now that times had changed and the balance had tipped in that direction, and he accomplished this by making one of the monastery's nuns, Anne, a spirited defender of the hero St. Stephen. This was a piece of hagiography inserted within the larger hagiographic account in order to make Anne appear iconodule even though the VSJ never makes this statement explicitly. The author also tried to benefit the same monastery in another way, covering up some disciplinary irregularities that had existed on the Mountain during Stephen's lifetime and could potentially have tarnished the reputations of both the martyr and the monastery.² The author's second concern

1. Marie-France Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre, introduction, édition et traduction* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs, 3. (Aldershot 1997) 1-84 (introduction), 85-178 (Greek text), 179-277 (annotated French translation). Hereafter VSJ for citations to the Greek text — in order of chapter, page number(s). (line(s)) — and 'Introduction' for Auzépy's preliminary remarks.

2. Auzépy, 'Introduction', 9-18, esp. 17-18, 41-2.

in writing the VSJ was, as Auzépy sees it, more pressing. The years 808-809 witnessed the culmination of a serious struggle between the Stoudios monastery and Patriarch Nikephoros over the Joseph affair.³ Writing in the same years and being himself an ally of the patriarch, the author of the VSJ sought to write a propaganda piece that would win support for the patriarch, especially within monastic ranks. His formula, as Auzépy explains it, was to ignore (or at least, disguise) Stephen's more political involvements during the reign of Constantine V (741-775) at the same time as he stressed his hero's role as a monk *par excellence* and a true iconodule-martyr.⁴ Auzépy points out that this rather elaborate strategy could naturally not have been entrusted to just any author. The named author of the VSJ, a certain Stephen, deacon of St. Sophia, must have had direct guidance from the patriarch himself.⁵ Similarly, in his account of the nuns of Mt. Auxentios the author Stephen was in all likelihood not operating alone but was rather carrying out the wishes of another: in the event, the successor to Stephen on Mt. Auxentios, a certain Epiphonios the hermit, and more specifically his protectresses from the female monastery itself.⁶

There are of course simpler ways to read the VSJ. Some of the text's biases and inclinations manage to filter through even when modern readers apply more conventional methods of textual analysis, in effect resisting the temptation to speculate too much on the alleged conspiracy of interests pressing down upon Stephen the Deacon as he wrote. Such readings of the VSJ are not to be easily dismissed.⁷

3. This term has been adopted in preference to the often-cited 'second Moechian' conflict owing to the fact that it concerned primarily the reinstatement of the priest Joseph to religious orders. For a good review of the whole conflict, see Paul Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1958) 82-101.

4. *Ibid.*, 22-42, esp. 40-2.

5. *Ibid.*, 40-1.

6. *Ibid.*, 18.

7. Cf., e.g., Alfred Lombard, *Constantin V, Empereur des Romains (740-775)* (Paris 1902) 151-67; Peter Brown, 'A Dark Age crisis: aspects of the Iconoclast controversy' *EHR* 346 (January 1973) 1-34 *passim*; Paul Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. Die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft. Quellenkritische Darstellung von 25 Jahren byzantinischer Geschichte nach dem ersten Ikonoklasmus*, 2 vols (München 1978) 189-91, 455-6, 605-6 n. 87 et *passim*; Stephen Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Leo III* (Subsidia, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum

Auzépy knows about this literature and works within the spirit of much of it, yet her particular contribution is to make specific what others have expressed in more general terms. Thus instead of treating the VSJ as a mere pro-monastic and pro-iconodule propaganda tract — a feel-good piece for the present regime — she tries to contextualise it more deeply within a web of intersecting monastic, church, iconodule and personal interests specific to the place, time and concrete circumstances in which it was written. Specifically, these are the patriarchal court in Constantinople, the events of the years 808-809 and the general climate of religious tension both within the iconodule camp as well as between iconodules and iconoclasts.⁸

In the spirit of Auzépy's inquiries it seems useful to explore another strand in the web of religious and political interests at work in Constantinople in the years 808-809. However one must first ask whether her own web is really as tightly woven and coherent as it would seem. To be sure, any 'deep' reading of the VSJ, Auzépy's included, can readily be brought into question on a host of technical grounds, such as the problem of its disputed dating,⁹ the manuscript

Orientalium, no. 41. Louvain 1973) 109-110; *idem*, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Constantine V* (Subsidia, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, no. 52. Louvain 1977) 111-13, 241-2; Warren Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780-842* (Stanford 1988) 193. But see esp., Joseph Gill, 'The Life of Stephen the Younger by Stephen the Deacon', *OCP* 6 (1940) 114-39; George Huxley, 'On the *Vita* of St. Stephen the Younger', *GRBS* 18/1 (1977) 97-108; Ihor Ševčenko, 'Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period', in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. Bryer, J. Herrin (Birmingham 1977) 120, 128; Vincenzo Ruggieri, 'Note su schemi simbolici e letterari nella *Vita S. Stephani Junioris*', *B* 63 (1993) 196-212. For Auzépy's own prior work on the subject, see her bibliography in VSJ, 286.

8. Auzépy, 'Introduction', 9 and esp. 41-2: 'Cet accord suggère que la rédaction de la *Vita et Passio* du reclus du Mont Auxence ne fut pas demandée au hasard à un diacre de Sainte-Sophie. Si les Trikhinaréai avaient besoin d'une martyre de "l'iconoclasme", le patriarcat, lui, avait besoin en 809 et de l'appui des moines pour faire pièce aux Stoudites et d'un texte de propagande en faveur de l'orthodoxie iconodule mise en place à Nicée II. La *Vie d'Étienne le Jeune* est sans doute née de cette conjonction d'intérêts: le patriarcat a saisi l'occasion offerte par les Trikhinaréai parce qu'elle lui permettait de récrire l'histoire de la période isaurienne et d'en faire une histoire de l'iconoclasme'.

9. Assigning the VSJ to the year 809 is not without its problems: cf. Huxley, 'Vita of St. Stephen', 105-6; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 193; Auzépy, 'Introduction', 5-9.

tradition,¹⁰ or the larger issue of whether the literary genre itself can have supported the scheme. The last point is fundamental since it requires one to consider the extent to which Byzantine hagiographers in general, and the otherwise unknown Stephen the Deacon in particular, were typically active in propaganda and publicity at such an immediate and microsocial level. Auzépy naturally accepts this function of the genre as more or less axiomatic. Her reading of the VSJ clearly assumes that iconodule hagiography can be considered a political pamphlet of sorts, in other words a rough equivalent of the tendentious bi-weekly or monthly of today, with its audience of adherents, big or small, keenly awaiting the next issue. Some scholars may accept this premise, others not. It remains true, however, that this sort of reactive political pamphleteering is normally more closely associated with other literary genres, including epistolography, secular oratory and the sermon.¹¹ But perhaps it will turn out that these genres are in fact the daily newspapers of the iconoclast age and hagiography (and perhaps other texts?¹²) the slightly more *recherché* bi-weekly or monthly, or indeed that all of these genres came to assume a similar if not identical function in the highly politicised culture of the age. In any event Auzépy has staked out her ground in an important debate that will clearly profit from further discussion.¹³

A close examination of her substantive points raises still other concerns. The main problem here is that the very motives and intentions she ascribes to Stephen the Deacon in his writing of the VSJ are not entirely clear or consistent. On the question of his supposed service to the monastery of Trichinaraiai, one wonders whether its nuns really

10. Note her comments in this regard in her treatment of the Trichinaraiai nuns, 18 et n. 72.

11. Antonio Garzya, 'Testi letterari d'uso strumentale', *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 263-71, raises numerous questions about the classifications of Byzantine literature according to function.

12. For a clear case of the use of poetry as a '*Gebrauchsliteratur*' or '*letteratura d'uso istrumentale*', cf. *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, ed. G. Fatouros (CFHB 31. Berlin 1991) no. 333, 474; P. Speck, ed., *Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände: Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Berlin 1968).

13. For important insights, see Averil Cameron, 'Texts as weapons: polemic in the Byzantine dark ages', in *Literacy and power in the ancient world*, eds. A.K. Bowman and G. Woolf (Cambridge 1994) 198-215.

needed rehabilitation from their iconoclast past. To demonstrate their iconoclast leanings, Auzépy places great weight on the fact that the Trichinaraiai monastery was spared the round of persecutions that included the destruction of Stephen the Younger's monastery.¹⁴ In another place, however, she explains that these persecutions aimed mainly at 'bad' — or politically-involved — monks (*mauvais moines*).¹⁵ So, in the end, it is eminently possible to conclude that the Trichinaraiai monastery's escape from persecutions owed simply to the fact that they were the 'good' sort of iconodule monks. Or, at the worst, they may have followed other people in the Empire in remaining totally indifferent or neutral to the icon issue altogether.¹⁶ Indeed either position would presumably have left their monastery intact without staining their reputation terribly, since frankly a lot of monasteries seem to have followed a similar strategy. Turning the Trichinaraiai into either an openly iconoclast or lapsed institution, on the other hand, seems more difficult. For then one is forced to explain how the fervently iconodule Stephen the Younger, together with his mother and sister — nuns at the monastery, no less — had lived peaceably with their co-religionists over the years.¹⁷ These close relations would

14. *Ibid.*, 17.

15. *Ibid.*, 34-38, esp. 37-8.

16. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*, 66-72 (still an attractive thesis). A regrettable omission in this discussion, too, is A.'s decision ('Introduction', 17 n. 69) not to take serious account of recent literature which suggests a strong correlation between women and iconodulia, e.g. Judith Herrin, 'Women and Faith in Icons in Early Christianity,' in *Culture, Ideology and Politics. Essays for Eric Hobsbawm*, eds. R. Samuel, G.S. Jones (London 1982) 56-83.

17. Mother and daughter left the Trichinaraiai with other male monks upon Stephen's exile to the island of Prokonessos (VSJ, 47, 148.14-17) and then died shortly after (53, 153.10-16). There is no reason to suppose that they were forcibly driven from the Trichinaraiai or left because of a sudden change of confession there. Rather, as Stephen the Younger's spiritual children (VSJ, 16, 107.11-19), they presumably felt it spiritually necessary to follow him. The text suggests as much when it says that they 'went down to the island (Prokonessos) and studied (*ephoitesan*) with the saint'. Moreover, it was not out of the question for mothers to follow their hermit sons around through thick and thin. Cf. both the 'virtual' presence of Symeon the Fool's mother in his life, (Leontis of Neapolis, *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon*, Lennart Rydén [Uppsala, 1963], appendix, 125.28-126.1; 130.11-18; 137.26-7; 138.19-139.6; 139.19-142.6), and the more tangible presence of Alypius' mother, (*Sancti Alypii Stylitae, Vita priora*, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, in *Les Saints Stylites* [Subsidia Hagiographica 14. Bruxelles-Paris 1923] ch. 15, 159.22-160.25; 16, 160.26-161.4; 19, 162.33-163.19).

only begin to make sense,¹⁸ according to Auzépy's scheme of things, in the event that Stephen the Younger himself was either an iconoclast or indifferent to the issues of icons. It goes without saying, however, that this reading of the situation seems most unlikely.

Auzépy's second subtext seems initially more inviting than the one reviewed above.¹⁹ That the patriarch might have commissioned the VSJ to win support both for iconodule policies, and for his own patriarchal office as it took on the rebellious Stoudites, is a plausible claim in its own right.²⁰ Stephen the Deacon's direct connection with the patriarchal court and the timing of his work arguably strengthens the case. The author Stephen is thus metaphorically our 'smoking gun', and the immediate pretexts for his writing the VSJ appear sufficient in the extreme if only an 808-809 dating for the piece can be confirmed. Aside from the problem of dating, however, is the question of whether Auzépy's pretexts stand up to scrutiny. As for iconoclasm, scholars are by no means sure that it still constituted a serious threat to the iconodule establishment. Indeed existing sources allow for any number of interpretations about its role in contemporary life, ranging from little or no role at all, to the use of iconoclasm merely as a slogan for other concerns, and finally to Auzépy's implied view that it was still a critical issue of the day.²¹ Was the VSJ then a pressing propaganda piece against the rising tide of iconoclasm or merely a feel-good exercise for the long-since victors? There is a difference between these two options, and one's view of that difference

18. In the early days, an extremely well-trained if not miraculous dog was the go-between for some of these contacts (VSJ, 14, 105.16-106.15).

19. Indeed, rather than subtext, it might be called a theme of the text. On this distinction, Michael Riffaterre, *Fictional Truth* (Baltimore/London 1990), esp. 58-9 et passim.

20. For the reappearance of iconoclasm in Constantinople at large, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols, (Leipzig 1883-5; repr. Hildesheim 1963), 488.33-489.13; and within the patriarchal bureaucracy, VSJ, 38, 137.16-138.11, esp. 138.3-11. For a review of the evidence, Paul Alexander, *Patriarch Nicephorus*, 111-25. The failed Arsaber revolt in 808 may have left the patriarch in a weakened position as well: cf. *ibid.*, 74 and Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival*, 153-4.

21. For clarifications of and disagreement with the picture drawn by Alexander (above, n. 20), cf. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*, 63-5; Kaegi, 'The Byzantine Armies and Iconoclasm', *BS* 22 (1966) 48-70, esp. 63-5; Treadgold, *Byzantine Revival*, 182 and 413 n. 249.

depends very much on how to evaluate one strand in the web of intersecting interests Auzépy identifies for the years 808-809, i.e. the real degree of the iconoclast threat.

Her picture of the struggle between patriarch and Stoudites also raises concerns. But in this case the question is not whether Stoudite protests posed a serious and immediate threat to the patriarch and church integrity; for this point is fairly clear.²² Rather one wonders how exactly the author or authors of the VSJ presumed it would win for the patriarch, 'l'appui des moines pour faire pièce aux Stoudites'.²³ This point is by no means clear, and yet strangely Auzépy does not take time to explain herself or cite another authority. One is left to wonder, for example, where the potential publicity advantage for the patriarch in the VSJ was after all? If it was written for monks, it will be observed that the Stoudites themselves were monks. If for iconodules, the same holds true for Theodore and his followers. Perhaps Stephen the Deacon and Nikephoros were reaching out to Stephen the Younger's brethren, the hermits of the empire, though this hardly seems a sensible strategy for gaining widespread support. Paradoxically, a closer look at the VSJ along the lines of Auzépy's reading might even lead to the conclusion that it was conceived of as a pro-Stoudite piece, inasmuch as the parallels between Stephen the Younger and Theodore of Stoudios are fairly striking; for both are prominent iconodule monastic leaders, both have boldly challenged the emperor and episcopate, and both (as of the year 809) have suffered utter defeat at the hands of their enemies while retaining the support of a group of followers. The basic issue is whether the VSJ did not serve Stoudite publicity interests equally as well as it did those of the patriarch? In all events Auzépy's future thoughts on the dynamics of Stephen the Deacon's and the patriarch's thinking as they composed the VSJ will certainly be welcomed.

In the meantime there may be yet another way to read this text while remaining within the spirit of her challenging inquiry. In this

22. The council of late 808 or early 809 condemning the Stoudites and the imperial persecutions that followed are reviewed by Patrick Henry, 'The Moechian Controversy and the Constantinopolitan Synod of January 809 A.D.', *JThS*, n.s. 20/2 (1969) 495-522.

23. Auzépy, 'Introduction', 41.

view, Stephen the Deacon wrote the VSJ as a pointed polemic tract against the powerful, politically active and somewhat eccentric-minded Stoudites, not as a mere piece of publicity and propaganda. While he presumably got the support of the patriarch Nikephoros in this endeavour, he would also have naturally turned to one of the Stoudites' arch enemies, Joseph, the *oikonomos* of Haghia Sophia. Indeed Joseph had been the principal target of Stoudite protests during the years leading up to the troubles of 808-809 and was the main cause of their grievances at this very moment.²⁴

In fashioning this polemic Stephen's technique was to construct in the person of Stephen the Younger and his supporters a near mirror image of Theodore and his followers — for all the world, monks and others, to see and compare. Other parallels were also brought into the narrative wherever possible, as we will see, in order to strengthen the sense of verisimilitude. In this way the author Stephen sought to concentrate his audience's attention on a few key issues common to both the Theodore and Stephen the Younger cases, especially ecclesiology and the nature of spiritual authority. The Stoudites had taken a strong stand on both these issues, notably in later 808 and 809. The author Stephen's ultimate aim was therefore to show that contemporary Stoudite claims in these areas — however widely and loudly voiced by their spokesman, Theodore — still paled against the august example of Stephen the Younger. Comparison between the mirrored Stephanite image and the real Stoudite image would, in the event, favour the mirror. And although the reputation of the Stoudites would not be destroyed, the VJS would nevertheless undermine some of their claims and deal a blow against their propaganda efforts in the Joseph Affair.

The question is whether this is a more sound contextualisation of the VSJ than those of Auzépy and others. And if it is, how — while granting certain tacit assumptions about the VSJ (shared with Auzépy),²⁵ and admitting that it need not be the only reading of the text — to prove it? Part of the key to solving these problems may lie in reading the VSJ closely alongside the contemporary *Letters*

24. Pavlos Niavis, 'Ioseph, Hegoumenos tes Mones ton Katharon', *Byzantinos Domos* 4 (1990) 85-98.

25. See above, pp. 202-203.

and *Sermons* of Theodore of Stoudios.²⁶ The abbot's *Orations* may eventually be considered useful, too, although these sources postdate the VSJ by some years.²⁷ This sort of analytical approach has been part of standard scholarly practice for generations and thus seems to promise nothing new in itself. But whereas scholars are normally interested in comparing sources in this way in order to corroborate the reporting of historical facts or tracing literary parallels, in this instance the aim is to compare and contrast some of the symbols, themes, reminiscences, ideologies and emphases presented in the texts with the understanding that they might represent different sides of a dialogue in progress. In short, our method is to treat them as intertexts — texts generated from the same time, place and circumstances, and thus potentially locked in a discussion over this point or that.²⁸ For reasons already stated above, it does not matter much that one half of the dialogue is taking place in hagiography and the other in letters and sermons given that all sources of the period seem to be equally polemical in nature. What matters more is that these texts can be seen in reaction to one another, and in this specific case to see the VSJ as a reaction to Theodore's writings.

26. *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, ed. Fatouros; *The Magna Catechesis*, in three editions: (I) ed. J. Cozza-Luzzi, in *Novae patrum bibliothecae* 9/2 (Rome 1888); (II) ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg 1904; repr. Thessalonike 1987); (III) (unpublished ms.), ed. J. Leroy.

27. *Oration on His Mother*, in PG 99 884-901; *Oration on Plato*, in PG 99 804-49; *Oration on Theophanes*, in ed. S. Efthymiades, 'Le Panégyrique de S. Théophane Le Confesseur par S. Théodore Stoudite', *AB* 111/3-4 (1993) 268-90.

28. The critical approach adopted here starts from traditional historical textual analysis (i.e. comparison of sources), and moves toward literary theories of intertextuality and reader-response without, however, arriving at semiotics (though the latter, too, may prove to be a fruitful alternative). In this respect it is neither traditional source analysis nor an exercise on the cutting-edge of intertextual and reader-response criticism. For a survey of the range of intertextual approaches evolved in recent decades, see Barbara Godard, 'Intertextuality', in gen. ed. Irena R. Makaryk, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory* (Toronto 1993) 568-72. For able demonstrations of one such approach, Michael Riffaterre, *Text Production*, tr. Terese Lyons (New York 1983); *idem, Fictional Truth* (Baltimore-London 1990). For reader-response (and much else), see, e.g., Yuri M. Lotman, *Universe of the Mind*, tr. Ann Shukman (London/New York 1990), esp. 63-81 ('The Text as a Process of Movement'), 217-244 ('The Problem of the Historical Fact', 'Historical Laws and the Structure of the Text').

In order for the VSJ and the contemporary writings of Theodore to merit consideration as intertexts, to some degree they must obviously be shown to concern themselves with similar issues. Some basic parallels have already been noted, including the fact that both Theodore and Stephen the Younger are prominent monks, both challenge the imperial and episcopal authorities,²⁹ both end badly — Theodore in exile,³⁰ and Stephen in death — and both men leave behind a devoted group of followers.³¹ One might add incidentally that both men are born in Constantinople, then leave it for Bithynia to perfect their monastic skills, and finally return to the city as famous religious authorities.

Other more subtle parallels between these texts also seem striking. The VSJ points out, for example, the symmetry between the iconoclast emperors Leo III and Constantine V with the two prominent Herod-figures in history, and it lays particular emphasis on Constantine as an adulterer and second Herod Antipas.³² Theodore had been calling emperor Constantine VI an adulterer and new Herod for over a decade, and indeed had intensified this campaign in the years 808-809.³³ Therefore the parallel drawn by the author of VSJ may be no accident. Of course a central difference between Constantine VI and the Leo III-Constantine V figure was that the former 'Herod' was no iconoclast whereas the latter were. As a counterbalance to Theodore's blustering

29. On Stephen's interrogation by bishops, VSJ, 44, 142-45; curiously, without the presence of the patriarch, *ibid.*, 43, 142.15-20. On Stephen's interview with the emperor, *ibid.*, 55, 154-7. On the emperor's earlier 'silention', which eventually condemns Stephen, *ibid.*, 40, 139-40.

30. Good reviews of Theodore's fortunes during this conflict include Alexander Dobroklonskii, *Prepodobnii Feodor' Ispovednik i Igumen' Studiskii*, vol. 1 (Odessa 1913) 605-703; Paul Alexander, *Patriarch Nicephorus*, 87-100; Patrick Henry, *Theodore of Studios: Byzantine Churchman* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University 1968), 57-68 and 109-76; Pavlos E. Nivavis, *The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I (AD 802-811)* (Athens 1987) 136-159.

31. For Theodore, note the dramatic judgement scene later re-enacted in his own *Vita*, Michael of Stoudios, *Life of Theodore*, in PG 99, col. 269bcd. For Stephen, 71, 170-1; 74, 172-3; 75, 173-4; 77, 175-6. Note that Stephen's legacy is preserved by representatives of two of the oldest and most revered monasteries in Constantinople, the Dalmatou and Diou.

32. For Leo and Herod the Great, VSJ, 11, 101.22-4. For Constantine, *ibid.*, 23, 119.15-18 and 65, 167.4-7. See also Auzépy's helpful notes at, 211 n. 152 and 266 n. 415.

33. *Ep.* 22, 59.57 and 67; 28, 77.67; 31, 87.66-7; *Oration on Plato*, 829a; cf. *Ep.* 78, 199.11; *Oration on Theophanes*, ch. 10, 276.

claims of the reign of a 'new Herod', the VSJ had thus managed to create a parallel figure with yet a far greater degree of culpability attached to it.

Another parallel between these intertexts is equally subtle yet also not without interest. Both Theodore and Stephen were prominent monastic leaders, but over what kind of monastic community, with what influence, and where? Since the early 790s Theodore had forcefully championed the cause of coenobitic monasticism, carrying out extensive reforms first at the Sakkoudion monastery in Bithynia and later at the Stoudios in Constantinople. He made no apologies for this stance. On the contrary, the abbot praised this way of life above all others and remained highly critical of monks who essentially took the easy way of an eremitic or semi-eremitic way of life.³⁴ Many monks seem to have agreed with Theodore as the numbers of those serving under him in Constantinople soared into the hundreds in the period leading up to 808-809.³⁵ In short, he reigned supreme over the monastic world of Constantinople by the time of the VSJ's composition.

Be that as it may, the VSJ presents us with another formidable coenobitic leader with an equally impressive community in Constantinople. Indeed Stephen the Younger had arguably accomplished as much as Theodore, or more, in much less time and under the worst of circumstances. After his arrest and removal to Constantinople, Stephen was imprisoned in the dreaded Praetorium along with 'an elite group of the order of monks, some three hundred and forty two in number, from different regions'.³⁶ These were the best and brightest of the empire's monks and abbots, and Stephen the Younger was soon appointed to lead them as a sort of ecumenical archimandrite of all iconodule monks:

34. *Magn.cat.*, ed. Leroy, bk. 1, no. 5, p. 21.30-5; 1:33, 149.4-151.60; 1:5, 384.58-67; ed. Cozza-Luzzi, vol. 9:2, no. 12, pp. 35-6; *Ep.*, no. 8, 28.22-23.22-83. On the nature of Stoudite reforms, Julien Leroy, 'La réforme studite', *OCA* 153 (1958): 181-215; *idem*, *Studitisches Mönchtum. Spiritualität und Lebensform* (Graz/Wien/Köln 1969).

35. *Magna.cat.*, ed. Leroy, no. 1.55, 258, 86-97; no. 1.70, 338.37-8; no. 1.81, 384.61-71; ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, no. 75, 516.9-19; Michael of Stoudios, *Life of Theodore*, 248d, 260c; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 481.29.

36. VSJ, 56, 157.25-27.

All of these fathers received him as abbot (*archipoimen*) and saving teacher and they received his teachings and brought their temptations to his attention. And so the Praetorion became a monastery (*monasterion*) since the whole monastic canon was accomplished there.³⁷

However impressive in their own right, Theodore's achievements at the Sakkoudion and Stoudios still paled in comparison to what Stephen had accomplished in this large and distinguished 'coenobitic' community. The community was so impressive in fact that Stephen the Younger, like Theodore again, paid a dear price for his high profile in the Constantinopolitan monastic world; for his success at the Praetorium was one of the pretexts Constantine V reportedly used to condemn him.³⁸ The author of the VSJ has thus presented us with a similar if superior Constantinopolitan abbot. Furthermore, in one additional category of merit the 'abbot' Stephen the Younger stood completely alone. For unlike Theodore he had also once been hermit with a distinguished record of mortifying asceticism and miracles to his credit.³⁹

So much for Stephen the Deacon's attempts to create a sense of verisimilitude between the distant life and times of Stephen the Younger and the contemporary case of Theodore of Stoudios. If this reading of the text is correct, it will be observed that the author of the VSJ was involved in a subtle variation on the confidence game. He wanted to make his audience intellectually and emotionally confident in the striking resemblance between these two figures and their ideals before eventually separating them from that position. In the event, Stephen the Deacon used verisimilitude in order to build up and at the same time subtly undermine Theodore of Stoudios' stature in the world of Constantinopolitan monasticism and religious

37. *Ibid.*, 56, 158.9-12. 'Archipoimen' would seem to echo the office of archimandrite of Constantinopolitan monasticism, an office that seems to have gone out of use by this time, although one can imagine that Theodore would have been the closest thing to it in his own day. On the office in earlier centuries, Gilbert Dagron, 'Les moines et la ville. Le monachisme Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451)', *TM* 4 (1970): 269-70, 274; reprinted in *La romanité chrétienne en Orient. Héritages et mutations* (London 1984), no. viii.

38. VSJ, 63, 165.10-64, 165.14 et seq.

39. On Stephen's miracles, which upon closer examination Auzépy rightly does not consider very impressive ('Introduction', 245n.233, 247n.335), VSJ 46, 146.15-147; 49, 149.13-151.5; 50, 151.6-152.7; 51, 152.9-153.9; 52, 152.25-153.9; 54, 153.17-154.19.

politics. Writing the VSJ in the years 808-809, Stephen would have sensed the opportunities at hand. Although followers of Theodore of Stoudios had formally united behind the abbot in his stand against patriarch and emperor, there were also clear signs that their confidence was waning. This was true not only among Stoudite monks but also and especially for Theodore's supporters outside Stoudite walls.⁴⁰ Theophanes the Chronographer, for example, who would later be a strong ally of the abbot in the iconoclast struggle, was appalled by his intransigence during this episode and all but labelled him and his monks schismatics.⁴¹ Even Theodore's own brother and staunch ally, Joseph the Archbishop of Thessalonike, wondered about the validity of some of the abbot's positions.⁴²

Stephen the Deacon and his supporters in the patriarchate sensed the abbot's vulnerabilities from the later months of 808 onward and hence, in this reading of the VSJ, proceeded with this veiled polemic against Theodore and his positions. Indeed two of those positions arguably concerned them most: the one, Theodore's insistence that a heresy was now at hand as a result of the patriarch's support — through a church synod — for the priest Joseph;⁴³ the other, the abbot's claim that whoever fought with him against this new heresy was following in the steps of the ancient martyrs.⁴⁴ As early as 808 Theodore had begun to circulate letters and epistolographic sermons — in multiple copies⁴⁵ — which forcefully argued these points, and both his rhetoric and his public relations strategies grew ever more expansive with time.⁴⁶ It is no wonder therefore that the VSJ's two most fundamental themes were Stephen the Younger's struggle against

40. *Ep.* 28, 75.2-76.23; 48, 129.2 et seq; 556, 853.6-14. For a review, Dobroklonskii, *Prepodobnii Feodor*, vol. 1, 613-629; Henry, 'Theodore: Byzantine Churchman', 61-2; *idem*, 'The Moechian Controversy', 508-9; Nivais, *Emperor Nicephorus I*, 154-6.

41. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 481.22-29; 484.20-24.

42. *Ep.* 43, 126.51-72.

43. For a review of Theodore's ecclesiology during this conflict and his highly controversial claim that the church was gripped by heresy, Henry, 'Theodore: Byzantine Churchmen', 143-44, 162-76.

44. P. Hatlie, 'The Politics of Salvation: Theodore of Stoudios on Martyrdom and Parrhesia', *DOP* 50 (1996) esp. 268-9, 272-3.

45. *Cf. ep.* 26, 72.40-5; 27, 74.40-6; 31, 85.24-6; 153, 274.30.

46. On Theodore's use of secret codes to mask the identities and activities of his followers, *ep.* 41, 121.2-122.46.

heresy and his status as a glorious martyr. The parallelism between the writings of Theodore and the VSJ in this regard are again striking. Written in the year 808 or 809, the VSJ mirrors the abbot's presently forceful, though still highly controversial,⁴⁷ claims by referring its audience to a former heresy and a former martyr. In effect, Stephen the Deacon has created an image of initial symmetry here, just as elsewhere in his chapters of the VSJ, inviting his readers to think more closely about the implications of that symmetry. Theodore's claims to a heresy and an age of martyrdom are naturally only postulated, something to which one must be persuaded and convinced, whereas the iconoclast heresy under which Stephen the Younger lived and suffered martyrdom is presented as not only authentic but also of a much grander scale entirely. Stephen the Deacon hoped that his intended audience would look beyond mere superficial resemblances in order to observe this deeper discrepancy between Stephen and his age of old over and against Theodore and his far-reaching claims. Ultimately, Stephen and his fellow ghost-writers at the patriarchate expected their audience to judge the merits of each case and deliver the only verdict possible in this episode: the spiritual authority of Theodore and his fellow 'martyrs' paled in comparison to that of Stephen the Younger, and their charges of 'heresy' in the church carried little weight when the Joseph affair was measured against that most dreaded heresy, iconoclasm. Stoudite propagandists, led by Theodore himself, would continue to bring their message about heresy and martyrdom to the public. Yet Stephen and his supporters knew that this effort would not necessarily make the appeal of the VSJ wane with time, that is, unless or until actual circumstances brought the verisimilitude between Theodore and his followers' struggle more closely into line with that of Stephen the Younger. That never happened, of course; the persecutions of Theodore and his followers remained limited and relatively mild, with no reported deaths occurring.⁴⁸ In

47. *Ibid.*, 555, 851.60 et seq.

48. Dobroklonskii, *Prepodobnii Feodor*, 649-51; Paul Alexander, 'Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Methods and Justifications', *Speculum* 52/2 (1977) 245. For a complete review, see my 'Abbot Theodore and the Stoudites: A Case Study in Monastic Social Groupings and Religious Conflict in Constantinople (787-815)', (Ph.D. Diss., Fordham University 1993) 299-315.

view of this one can imagine the VSJ as having been a potentially effective counterbalance against Stoudite religious activism and propaganda in the years 809-811, the duration of the Joseph affair. Indeed as time went by the more discerning readers may have begun to read the VSJ as a parody of Stoudite claims.

To conclude, the views presented above follow from a highly specific contextualisation of the VSJ. Their point of departure is a consideration of the precise historical situation at the time and place of the VSJ's writing, and in both this respect and in others they have much in common with the recent research of M.-F. Auzépy. Few scholars to date have been willing to investigate the historical pretexts for its composition along these lines or ascribe such deep layers of meaning to the VSJ. This reluctance no doubt reflects, at least in part, the treacherous problem of arriving at an exact dating for the composition of the VSJ upon which to establish a concrete historical context. To her credit Auzépy has worked rigorously both to prove an 808-809 date of composition and show its significance for a proper historical contextualisation and interpretation of the piece. The present author, though following her most of the way along this path, nevertheless branches off into a different direction and ultimately reaches different conclusions. Yet it is worth repeating that the VSJ is a fascinating text, capable no doubt of sustaining many meanings, some of them certainly overlapping. The number of pretexts that can reasonably be put forth for its composition abound as well, making the VSJ an attractive prospect for scholarly attention and lively debate well into the future.

*Department of Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies
The University of Groningen (The Netherlands)*

Some western images of Athos in early modern times, c. 1554-1678¹

MICHAEL E. MARTIN

In 1554 a Franciscan friar of Angoulême, André Thevet, published at Lyons his *Cosmographie de Levant*. The author had recently returned from a three year journey to Constantinople and the Holy Land, and the *Cosmographie* was the first of a number of geographical works. Although he did not visit Athos, he saw it from near the Hellespont and included a few lines in his book:

The Greeks call [it] *Agion Oros*, others the Holy Mountain, I believe on account of the many beautiful and ancient monasteries of both men and women, each living in their own abode in great chastity, poverty and obedience, so the monks and religious are called *Caloeres* and the religious women *Calogrees*, which means 'aged women' living upright lives.

Two years later the *Cosmographie* was reprinted both in the original quarto form and, at Anvers, as an octavo.²

This essay examines some other writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which were rather better informed on Mount Athos and which contributed to western European understanding of Orthodox monasticism in the centuries of the *Turkokratia*. Four accounts, as curious as they were heterogenous, were of special importance. The first is the posthumous Latin version of a French naturalist's recollections. The second is the description of an English

1. This essay has its origins in a communication read at *The 28th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies on Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* held at the University of Birmingham, 26-29 March 1994. I am very grateful to Professor A.A.M. Bryer for discussion and suggestions.

2. André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, ed. Frank Lestringant (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, cciii. Geneva 1985) 51-2; the translation omits some historical and geographical remarks. For Thevet's life, work, editions and expansions of the *Cosmographie* extending over thirty years, *Introduction* pp. XIII-LXXXI.

poet-classicist and colonial administrator; the third, the frequently enlarged compilation of a turbulent Scot and finally comes the report of a Greek archbishop, published in English. A fifth account from the end of the seventeenth century went unpublished until recent times. These accounts are, relatively, systematic: other, mostly incidental, remarks by travellers, missionaries and collectors afford further impressions of attitudes to the Holy Mountain and its monks.

In the same year that Thevet's *Cosmographie* appeared, the great French naturalist and traveller Pierre Belon published an account of his travels in the levant, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularitez et choses memorables*. Belon was born about 1517 near Le Mans. He had trained as an apothecary and later travelled widely, sometimes acting as a diplomatic agent. He was imprisoned in Geneva for his catholic fervour. In 1546 he went with the embassy of d'Aramon to Constantinople (where he met Pierre Gilles) and thence to the islands, Athos, Salonica, Asia Minor and the Holy Land. He was back in Constantinople by 1549. After a life full of incident, Belon died one April evening in 1565, stabbed by brigands as he gathered plants in the Bois de Boulogne.³

Some twenty-three pages of the *Observations* are devoted to Athos. If his writing is disjointed and repetitive, it is also fresh and immediate. Such order as may be discernible in the summary that follows is imposed by the present writer.

Athos, says Belon, was often described by the ancients, although despite a search he could find no trace of Xerxes' canal. The shape of the mountain is like that of a man supine on the sea and it is a three days' voyage to encompass it. Even in pagan times, the mountain was sacred and there is no better place for a monastery. Now five

3. P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs Singularitez et choses memorables* (Paris 1554). For the Latin translation of *Les observations*, see below. Among his zoological works are *L'Histoire naturelle des estranges poissons marins* (London 1551) and *L'Histoire de la nature des Oyseaux, avec leurs descriptions, & naifs portraits retirez du naturel* (Paris 1555). For the life of Belon, P. Delaunay, *L'aventureuse existence de Pierre Belon du Mans* (Paris 1926) [limited ed. of 100 copies] and *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*. Delaunay, 122-24, suggests Belon may have been the victim of a political assassination. (More than a century later, another great Levantine traveller and naturalist, Joseph Tournefort [1656-1708] was to die under the wheels of a wagon not far away in a Paris street.)

or six thousand monks live in 23 or 24 ancient monasteries, well-fortified against pirates who seek slaves as well as plunder. The monasteries on the shore have iron gates. The names of twenty-one houses are given, beginning from the north, first those near the coast and then the inland monasteries. Vatopedi and the (Grand) Lavra are the principal houses, the latter with 300 monks. The other convents have monks roughly in multiples of fifty up to 200. Some nationalities have their own houses. The life of the monk is not one of idleness. Each morning he sets out with his haversack and tools. Some tend vines, others chop wood. There are masons, carpenters, millers, cobblers and tailors, who work wool, not linen for the habits. Workmen are never hired. The routine is compared to life in a princely household. A chapter is devoted to the production of cloth. Fishing is especially important. Belon was intrigued by the boats made from the trunk of a single plane tree which reminded him of the ferries on the Seine and Somme. The fishing nets are supported on gourds in default of corks. Biscuit and onion are the standard fare for labouring monks. They also have preserved olives, and fruit trees are mentioned. Vegetables are sometimes given to sailors in return for cereals. Little corn is grown, although mills are to be seen. Brief reference is made to ecclesiastical furnishings and liturgical practices. The churches have candles and lamps and the *semadron* is described. There are painted images and, says Belon, statues in relief. Athos is held by the Greeks in the same esteem as Rome by the Latins and Athonite monks are more highly regarded than others. Formerly they were learned, but no longer. Each monastery has only one learned monk; there are only theological manuscripts, no poetry, history or philosophy. One reason is the general ignorance of the Greeks. The Patriarchs excommunicate all who choose secular studies rather than theology, and excommunication is much feared, for absolution requires severe fasts and fines. In each monastery are to be found only two or three literate monks. Those monks who can read have more authority. Few monks are priests, and they work like the other monks, so no regard is paid to study. Greece is entirely without scholars and the inhabitants dwell in an astonishing state of ignorance.

Belon turns with joy to his main interest: Athos is better for plants than anywhere he has set foot. Three of the fifteen chapters are

devoted to the trees of Athos. He describes with zest his wanderings in the remotest parts of the peninsula, the clear springs, the profusion of plants, the land crabs and the sighting of a hawfinch. He fondles each observation as though reluctant to abandon it. Athos is a paradise of delights for those who wish to live alone in the fields and this arbour of perpetual verdure will restore the most jaded spirit.⁴ Among Byzantine writers, only Nikephoros Gregoras can approach him in the appreciation of the natural beauties of the Holy Mountain. Belon stands apart from the other scientific travellers of his age. His older contemporary and fellow ichthyologist Pierre Gilles (1490-1555), for instance, is austere and impersonal in his writing. The younger Bavarian botanist Leonhard Rauwolf (1535/40-1596), while lacking nothing in commitment to his plants and alert to the novelties of human behaviour and to the associations of the sites he visited, remains the curious outsider. They are wanting in, or shrink from expressing, Belon's passionate response to Nature. The sentiment of Belon is neither that of the Roman poets for the *locus amoenus*, nor the melancholy of the Italian pastoral poets of the time, of Sannazaro, Tasso or Paolo Orsini; neither does his feeling anticipate that of the ideal landscapes of Claude. Belon's delight is not wistful but excited and sensuous; Nature takes possession of him as it was later to possess the Romantics. The lushness of the Holy Mountain was hardly to be evoked again with so much feeling until our own day. But Belon's passion did not communicate itself to all his readers. For Sir Paul Rycaut towards the end of the seventeenth century Athos was '... uneven craggy, and as horrible as Caucasus ...'.⁵

Sir Steven Runciman's characterisation of Belon as 'the disgruntled

4. For Athos, Belon, *Observations* (first ed. of 1554), chapters 35-49, pp. 33v-44r. (paginated as folios). In some copies of Belon's *de la Nature des Oyseaux*, is to be found a diorama of Athos. This is reproduced by F.W. Hasluck, *Athos and its monasteries* (London 1924), plate 2; cf. also his remarks on p. 197. S. Runciman, *The Great church in captivity* (Cambridge 1968) 389, gives 'three or four', rather than 'two or three' literate monks in each house, citing a French edition of 1583. I have not been able to trace this edition. See also note 16 below.

5. Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, XIV, 7; Pierre Gilles, *P. Gyllii de topographia Constantinopoleos . . . libri quatuor* (Lyons 1562); Leonhard Rauwolf *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiss, er von dieser Zeit gegen Ausgang inn die morgenländer . . . selbs vorbracht* (Laugingen 1583) and K.H. Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard*

Catholic traveller, Pierre Belon, who disliked the Greeks' is surely wide of the mark. There is no animosity against the Greek people and nothing disgruntled in his exuberant travelogue.⁶ Belon had a good eye for the detail which captivated him — scenes of rural labour, the singular, and, of course, nature. Certainly, his observation of ecclesiastical matters was more perfunctory, as witness his claim that the churches of Athos had statues in relief.

Some thirty years before Belon went to Athos, Michael Trivolis, a native of Arta, better known as Maximos, who had briefly been a Dominican friary, returned to Orthodoxy and left Italy for Athos. He remained there, in Vatopedi, for about ten years until 1516 when he was recruited by the Russian ruler Basil III as Greek translator in Moscow. His writings include some remarks on Athos. These anticipate much in Belon: the emphasis on fishing, viniculture, fruit trees, the trades of carpenter and tailor, the fear of piracy and so on. For him too Vatopedi and the Lavra are the principal houses and the numbers of monks are given, as in Belon, in multiples of fifty up to three hundred. He implies that few monks could read (. . . knizhku kotoruyu, ashche kto gramot' um' et . . .), a comment very close to Belon's assessment of the widespread illiteracy of the monks.⁷

Rauwolf: sixteenth-century physician, botanist, and traveler. (Cambridge, Mass. 1968). Rauwolf was translated into English by N. Staphorst in John Ray, *A collection of curious Travels and Voyages*, 2 vols. (London 1693).

For Rycaut, (sometimes *Ricaut*) Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian churches* (London 1679), 215-63. (He refers to Bellonius on p. 249) Cf. also the remark of Covell quoted at the end of this paper: also Sonia P. Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford 1989). Among the later descriptions of Athos, Colonel Leake's account of its natural beauties, for instance, is altogether more temperate. W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 4 vols., (London 1835), iii, 114-42; Joseph Dacre Carlyle, 1801, was by no means insensible of them, Alkis Anghelou, 'J.D. Carlyle's Journal of Mount Athos (1801)', *Ερμηνεία* 14 (1965) 33-75. I hope shortly to publish some remarks on this journal. For celebration of the natural beauties of Athos in our own time see the otherwise preposterous novel of François Augiéras, *Un voyage au mont Athos* (Paris 1970).

6. Runciman, 389. For an example of Belon's neutral reporting of Greek practices, pp. 5v-6r.

7. For the account of Athos by Maximos used here, V.F. Ržiga, 'Neizdannnie sochineniya Maksima Greka', *BS* 6 (1926), 85-109 esp. 95-99. On Maximos, E. Denissoff, *Maxime le Grec et l'occident* (Paris/Louvain 1943): for Athos, see esp. 271-320; J.V. Haney *From Italy to Muscovy: the life and works of Maxim the Greek*, Humanistische Bibliothek Reihe I: Abhandlungen, 19 (Munich 1973) esp. 26-49;

About the time of Belon's visit to Athos, the abbot Païssius of Khiliandarion spoke to the Russian Metropolitan Makarios about the state of Athos. His account confirms much that Belon says of the numbers of the monks and the relative size of the houses. Like Belon and Maximos, Abbot Païssius has just over twenty houses each with up to 300 monks generally in multiples of fifty. All have the Lavra and Vatopedi as the greatest monasteries and assign 300 monks to the Lavra. The abbot calculated the total number of monks as 6,000, although in order to evade tax only 4,000 were registered with the sultan.⁸

Eleven years after Païssius' account, in 1561, another Athonite monk, Joachim of Panteleimon, reported to Makarios. Much in his systematic review would have delighted Belon — his lists of trees,

D. Obolensky, 'Italy, Mount Athos, and Muscovy: the three worlds of Maximos the Greek (c. 1470-1556)', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 67 (1981), 143-161 [=D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1986), 201-219]; M.N. Gromov, *Maksim Grek* (Moscow 1983), esp. 26-31.

For the destruction of secular MSS at Iviron and the paucity of humane MSS on Athos in general, cf. John Covell c.1677 in F.W. Hasluck, 'The first English Traveller's Account of Athos', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 17 (1910-1) 103-31 (117, 127). But for another view of Athonite attitudes to secular learning, Denissoff, p. 290. Haney, 28-33, 136, suggests that Maximos may have taken Suidas's *Lexicon* with him from Vatopedi to Muscovy.

8. For Païssius, B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en orient* I, i (Geneva 1889), 277-82. For a severe account of errors and omissions in Belon, see Covell's remarks in Hasluck, 'First English Account', 113-4, 127, 150.

An Ottoman *defter* of about 1520 also shows the superiority in size of Vatopedi and the Lavra, H.W. Lowry, 'A note on the population and status of the Athonite monasteries under Ottoman rule (ca.1520)', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 73 (1981) 115-35. (=H.W. Lowry Jr, *Studies in Defterology*, *Analecta Isisiana* 4 (Istanbul 1992), 229-246) Lowry's list of the numbers of monks in the monasteries is incorporated in the table in Appendix I of this essay.

It may be convenient to mention here the *Puteshesvie . . . v Ierusalim v 1582 godu* of the Russian merchant Triphon Korobeinikov, first published in Moscow in 1798. This tiny memoir notes that on leaving the straits, the right hand route leads to the holy Athonite mountain and the city of Solun, while the left hand route leads to Jerusalem. (Edition of Moscow, 1888, p. 7). The *Viaggio a Constantinopoli di sier Lorenzo Bernardo per l'arresto del Bailo sier Girolamo Lippomano 1591*, ed. F. Stefani, *Deputazione veneziana di Storia patria*, serie 4, vol. 4: *Miscellanea* (Venice 1887), 35 notes that twenty *miglia* distant from Kavalla is the Holy Mountain called by the ancients the Athos promontory where there are said to be more than 20 monasteries of Greek monks.

wild animals and birds — and he has much to say of geography and agriculture. The total number of monks is given as 3,000. The Lavra and Vatopedi with 300 and 270 monks respectively are again the largest houses. While Belon commented on the fewness of priests, Joachim records 217.⁹

Belon's *Observations* were reprinted twice, in Paris and in Antwerp, some twelve months after the first edition. Three further editions followed in 1555, and a fourth appeared in 1588. In 1589, 24 years after Belon's death and 35 years after the first French edition, the botanist Charles de l'Écluse published a Latin translation, reprinted in 1605.¹⁰ Few western visitors to, and writers on, Athos and its environs in the next two centuries failed to consult Belon. Apart from the accounts to be considered in more detail later in this essay, two instances may be cited. It was probably within three or four years of the first edition of the *Observations* that the *Viaje de Turquía* was written. This work has elements of novel, travelogue, fantasy and autobiography and is in the form of a dialogue between three Spaniards. Long attributed to the humanist Cristobal de Villalon, it was later reassigned to a doctor, Andres Laguna, and most recently by its editor, F.G. Salinero, to a knight of Malta, Juan Ullola Pereira. The lengthy conversation on Athos appears to owe much to Belon.¹¹ A second very different example is found among the Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Library. It is a terse account of a journey from Pera to Salonica which belongs to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. It is no more than a page and a half in length but cites Bellonius no fewer than four times.¹² But there were exceptions: for

9. Ioakim of Panteleimon, 'Skazanie o sv. Afonskoi gor', *Pamyatniki Drevnei Pis'menosti*, 30 (St. Petersburg 1882), 1-31. The number of deacons is also given as 150.

10. Charles de l'Écluse = Carolus Clusius (1526-1609), *P. Bellonius, Plurimarum singularium et memorabilium rerum in Graecia . . . ab inspectarum observationes tribus libris expressae*, (Antwerp, 1589; reprinted 1605); Athos is 78-104. An English abridgement of Belon appeared in John Ray, *A collection of curious Travels and Voyages*, 2 vols, vol 1. (London 1693).

11. *Viaje de Turquía (La odisea de Pedro de Urdemelas)*, ed. Fernando G. Salinero (Madrid 1980). For the date of composition, literary form and authorship, cf. *Introduction*; for the author's knowledge of Belon, 275 n. 1. The conversation about Athos is 26-34.

12. British Library, Lansdowne MS 826 fol. 26r-v.

all the availability of Belon's work, surely it cannot have been consulted by the Marseilles sea captain François Arnaut commanding the ship sailing to Constantinople in 1602. In his log occurs the following entry: [Athos] *C'est une montaigne fort haulte et pointue, où il y a force monastaires des Grcz, quy ont force belles rentes, et sur le hault de ladicte montaigne y a 25 ou 30 hermites, quy font la vie telle que faisoit St. Hierosme, et ne conversent avecq personne, allant tous nudz et ne vivantz que d'herbes. Ladicte montaigne se void de 150,000 loing.*¹³

For five years between 1573 and 1578, the Tübingen theologian Stephan Gerlach (1546-1612) was chaplain in Constantinople to Maximilian II's ambassador, David Ungenad. In Gerlach's diary scarcely a day passes without his recording, usually without comment, whatever has been brought to his attention. In general, his informants seem of more consequence to him than his own experiences. Accounts of Athos reached him on four occasions. Reports on the numbers of monks ranged from one thousand to six thousand and the number of convents from twenty to a hundred. Despite these wide variations the picture they present conforms in some respects to that of Belon. In particular, one report spoke of there being only a few learned men who understood the true ancient Greek tongue and another commented that among the whole company were no more than two learned monks. Almost a century elapsed before Gerlach's diary was published.¹⁴

The second report on Athos is that by George Sandys (1578-1644), the youngest son of Edwin, Archbishop of York. His *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610.* appeared in 1615. The motive of Sandys's journey may have been to escape from an unhappy marriage. George Sandys was a man of spirit and wide learning highly regarded

13. M.H. Omont, 'Voyages à Athènes, Constantinople et Jérusalem de François Arnaut (1602-1605)', in M. de Vogüé, *Florelegium* (Paris 1909), 467-84; J.M. Paton, *Chapters on medieval and renaissance visitors to Greek lands.* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Princeton 1951), 51-4.

14. Stephan Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs dess Aeltern Tage-buch.* (Frankfort am Main 1674), entries for 30/4/1574, 16/11/1576, 20/1/1578 and 20/2/1578. (55, 270, 448, 459-600). Many manuscript books, never printed, are found on Athos. Gerlach has the annual tribute payable to the sultan at 18,000 taler (cf. Belon's 12,000 ducats and the 1520 *defter's* 25,000 *akçe* [cf. Appendix I below]), 459-60.

as a poet and especially as translator of Ovid. He was involved in the Virginia plantation where he led a punitive expedition against the Tappanhannock Indians. He is credited with the establishment of the first water mill and the first ship yard in America.¹⁵ His journey of 1610 took him to Italy and the Levant, but not to Athos though he felt impelled to include a short account based on Belon, of whom he was appreciative but not uncritical. He used the Latin translation of Belon by de l'Écluse.¹⁶ Characteristically he tells us what Belon does not, that the image of Athos as a supine man is taken from Strabo and that Athos is named for Athon, son of Neptune. He notes: *Athos caelat latera Lemniae bovis. Aspiring Athos hides/ the Lemnian oxes sides*, referring to the belief that Athos casts a shadow on Lemnos, an observation also made by Belon. Like Belon too, Sandys noted that Deinocrates proposed to carve Mount Athos into an effigy of Alexander.¹⁷ Sandys's description of Athos is fuller than his account

15. G. Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610* (London 1615). For the life and works of George Sandys, *Dictionary of American Biography*; Richard B. Davis, *George Sandys, poet-adventurer* (London 1955); Jack E. Friedman, *A critical study of George Sandys' 'Relation of a iorney'* Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1972 (High Wycomb [sic] 1974). Sandys's translation of Ovid was republished as recently as 1970.

16. For Athos, 81-2. Sandys, 82, has 'three or four' literate monks. For criticism of Belon, cf. 31-2. Belon is referred to as Bellonius, the form used by de l'Écluse. For Sandys's use of Belon, Friedman, 104 and appendix B.

17. Sir John Mandeville, in the mid-fourteenth century, had noted in his *Travels* that the shadow of Athos reached Lemnos, 76 miles distant, though a few lines before he placed Athos on the island of Lemnos, *Mandeville's Travels* ed. P. Hamelius, Early English Text Society (Oxford 1919), 10. Belon, p. 26r., notes the phenomenon and claims it occurs on June 2nd. The earliest notice that the shadow of Athos extended to Lemnos seem to be Sophocles, *Fragmenta*, no. 776 [*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A.C. Pearson, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1917), vol. 3, 26-7 (with helpful notes) and *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. S. Radt, 4 vols., (Göttingen 1977), 4, 535.]; it perhaps came via pre-Apollonian versions of *Argonautica*, i, lines 601-4. For the Latin version given by Sandys, cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, III, 2, 90.

For Deinocrates, Strabo, xiv. i. 23. In *The character of Holland*, lines 97-8, Andrew Marvell wrote: 'They try, like statuaries, if they can/Cut out each other's Athos to a man', *The poems & letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H.M. Margoliouth 3rd ed., vol. 1, (Oxford 1971), 311; H. Meyer, 'Der Berg des Athos als Alexander: zu den realen Grundlagen der Vision des Deinokrates', *Rivista di Archeologia* 10 (1986), 22-30; S. Schama, *Landscape and memory* (London 1995), 401-5.

of Patmos which he did actually visit. More than Belon, he can be described as hostile to the Greeks. The tailors of Athos are disparaged for doing women's work: the monks of Patmos, for instance, he characterizes as: 'ignorant in letters, studious for their bellies and ignominiously lazie; unlesse some fewe that give themselves to navigation and become indifferent good pilots'.¹⁸

Sandys's *Relation* was widely read. Between 1615 and 1673 no fewer than seven editions were published, the sixth and seventh each reprinted with variations. It was translated into Dutch (1653, 1654, 1665) and German (1669). Among others who consulted it were Francis Bacon, Robert Burton and John Milton.¹⁹

In 1621 Louis XIII sent Louis des Hayes, baron de Cormenin, on an embassy to Jerusalem. Three years later he published a handsome volume describing his journey. Although he did not visit Athos, he caught a distant prospect of it one fine autumn day as his vessel emerged from the Dardanelles. This led him to note that it was known as the Holy Mountain because five or six thousand monks lived in great austerity in 23 monasteries there. They were of the order of St. Basil and acknowledged the patriarch of Constantinople. They gave themselves more to an active than a contemplative life for few among them could read, so most worked the soil round about, which was not unproductive.²⁰ His information appears, not surprisingly, to be drawn from Belon.

18. For Patmos, 89-90. On women's work, cf. Gerlach, 448, [the monks] '... weben Seidenzeug und andere kleider und alle menschliche Gesellschaft fliegen'. I have not found in Sandys any justification for Chew's remark that Sandys 'reports upon the excellence of the manuscripts at Mount Athos': S.C. Chew, *The crescent and the rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York 1937) 42.

19. Friedman, 292-98.

20. L. (?) des Hayes, *Voyage de levant fait par le commandement du roy en l'année 1621* (Paris 1624). The Dardanelles and Athos are 303-5. Des Hayes's Christian name is uncertain. His mission was to establish a French consulate in Jerusalem and dedicate a silver shrine at the Holy Sepulchre before going on to Persia. This last part of his mission was not accomplished. He was in his late forties at the time of the embassy and travelled overland to Constantinople. He died in 1637. The *Voyage* was reprinted in 1632 and 1635. In the British Library are two near-contemporary abstracts of des Hayes, *Harl.* 4520 (175) ff. 551-4 and *Harl.* 6796 (11) ff. 33-37. For the spare details of his life, see *Dictionnaire de biographie française*.

In 1632 William Lithgow published the final version of his travelogues. Lithgow was born in Lanark in 1582. In his youth, his association with the daughter of a local laird outraged her brothers who cut off Lithgow's ears (or so a local tradition related) and this misadventure drove him to embark on his journeyings. He later declared the distance his 'paynefull feet traced over . . . amounteth to thirty six thousand and odde miles, which draweth neare to twice the circumference of the whole Earth', excelling even that other indomitable pedestrian, Thomas Coryate. In 1610 he embarked on a series of travels in the Levant and elsewhere. Shipwrecked off Chios, he was saved by the portable reed coffin he providently carried with him and which doubled as a useful trunk for his papers and linen. He survived the deserts of Gaza and north Africa, robberies, beatings and innumerable other dangers. After an encounter with the Inquisition in Spain, he presented his 'martyred anatomy' before James I who paid for his convalescence in Bath. The cure in Bath was succeeded by prison in London, for on returning to the capital, he came to blows with the Spanish ambassador in the royal ante-chamber. His later years were given to poetry, more foot-slogging and writing histories of some of the battles of the English civil war. The circumstances of his death, about 1645, are unknown. No wonder Lithgow has found no modern biographer: few would relish the task of separating invention from recollection in his astonishing memoirs. As D.H. Lawrence said of George Borrow, 'he hovers between realism and fantasy'.²¹

His first account of his travels had appeared in 1614. This first edition, of which few copies were printed, was reissued with corrections and additions two years later. In 1623 another edition, further enlarged, appeared. A new edition, substantially augmented and dedicated to Charles I, was published in 1632. This was reprinted in 1640, 1682 and 1692. A Dutch translation was published in 1652 and reprinted

21. For the life of Lithgow, preface to J. Maidment (ed.) *The poetical remains of William Lithgow* (Edinburgh 1863) esp. viii-xii; *DNB*; C.E. Bosworth, 'William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in Greece and Turkey, 1609-11', reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 65, no. 2 (1983) 1-36. The quotations are from the London edition of 1632 (cf. note 22 below), 507 and 483. For the shipwreck, *ibid.*, 100. (Thomas Coryate [1577?-1617] walked from Venice to London in 1608, and calculated he had covered 1,975 miles.)

in 1656, 1665 and 1705. His writing is here pugnacious and acerbic, there euphuistic and emollient. Of his prejudices, his unrelenting hostility to the papacy is the most persistent. References to classical texts and associations are numerous in later editions but are not strongly felt, for all his dilation on the grotto of the Sybil or his visit to Troy, where a wood cut depicts him in Turkish dress among the ruins. Between editions, the genre perceptibly shifts from travelogue to geography. These later editions include accounts of places which he himself had not visited and borrowings from other travellers, uneasily combined with hearsay. Factual inconsistencies abound, combined with a new ambivalence of attitude towards, for example, the Greeks and Orthodoxy.²² These changes are apparent in his account of Athos. Neither the edition of 1614 nor of 1616 has any mention of the Holy Mountain. In 1623, inserted between the description of Thebes and Salonica, is a paragraph on Achaia. Lithgow claims to correct some common errors and continues:

Here (in Achaia) is the huge and high hill Athos containing in circuit 70 miles and as some affirme three dayes journey in hight, whose shadow was absurdly sayd to have extended to Lemnos, an Iland lying neare the Carpathian Sea.²³

In the 1632 edition, the same passage is repeated but is extended by the following paragraph:

Athos in Greeke is called *Agios aeros*, to wit, a holy Mountaine; the top of it is halfe a daes journey broad, and 14 Italian miles high. There are twenty Monasteries upon it of Greekish Coleires, a laborious kind of silly Friers, and kind to Strangers: The chieftest of which Cloisters, are called Victopodos, and Agioslavra, being all of them strongly walled and sensible.

22. W. Lithgow, *A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland . . .* (London 1614; second impression, corrected and enlarged, 1616); *A most delectable . . . newly imprinted and exactly enlarged, by the author . . . with certaine rare relations of his second, and third travels . . .* (London 1623); [also in S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, ii (London 1625)]; *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures . . .* (London 1632) [Also another edition, Edinburgh, the same year]. The continual expansion of his work may be compared to that of Thevet, cf. note 2 above.

23. Edition of 1623, p. 71.

Later, in writing of Thrace is added:

The Greeks here, and generally through all Greece, beare as much reverence and respect to Mount Athos, as the papistes beare to Rome: All of which Religious Coliers or Friars, must toyle and labour for their living, some in the Vines, some in the Corne-fields, and some others at home in their Monasteries, or else where abroad, are alwayes occupied for the mainteining of their Families: They are but poorely cled, yet wonderfulle kinde to all Viadants; so that who so have occasion to passe that Mountaine, are there lodged and furnished of all necessary provision of food, by these sequestrat or solitary livers, whose simple and harmless lives may be tearmed to be the very Emblemes of Piety and Devotion; knowing nothing but to serve God, and to live soberly in their carriage.²⁴

The reader may judge how imperfectly Lithgow has used his sources. The location of Athos in both Achaia and Thrace may be compared to Mandeville's confused location of Athos *on* Lemnos.²⁵ The comparison of Athos to Rome and much of the rest of this last section seems to be derived from Belon, although Lithgow has ignored Belon's remark on the scarcity of corn.

While Lithgow was engaged on revising and enlarging his writings, active western interest in Athos centred on three concerns — relics, manuscripts and the search for union; the last two given a new dimension by the rivalry of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.

Between December 1621 and the summer of 1628, Sir Thomas Roe, whose travels had already taken him from the Amazon to the Ganges, was the English ambassador to the Porte. The Duke of Buckingham, Lord Arundel and others engaged his interest in the search for manuscripts and antiquities. His hopes and disappointments are related in his urbane and humorous letters. The bishop of Andros, a man experienced in such matters, held little hope:

Hee assured mee, That the search after old and good authors was utterly vaine; that neither in Greece, nor in any other place subject to the Grand Signor, were left so much as the footstepps or ruines of any antient learning. The last French ambassador had the last gleanings.

24. Edition of 1632, pp. 120-1, 129. For other comments on this passage, Bosworth, 19-20.

25. Note 17 above.

Later Roe wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that surviving manuscripts and books had been 'cerned over by many of good iudgment' and those left were very poor. To Arundel and Buckingham he wrote: 'bookes have beene so often visited, That I thincke Duck-Lane is better furnished than the Greeke church.' Here Roe was too dismal; some good manuscripts indeed remained: a few years later, in 1627, the Patriarch Cyril Lukaris presented Roe with a New Year gift for Charles I: it was the *Codex Alexandrinus*.²⁶

From 1614 the Sacred Congregation *de propaganda fide* in Rome had considered proposals to send a mission to Athos. In 1628 Ignatios, formerly abbot of Vatopedi, approached the Roman authorities with a view to consultations about unity. The Congregation expressed interest and resolved to despatch a missionary to establish a school on Athos. Eventually, a priest of the Greek rite, Nicholas Rossi who had studied at the Greek college of St. Athanasius in Rome was appointed. The College had been founded by pope Gregory XIII in 1576. From 1591 until 1604 it was under Jesuit direction.²⁷ In 1621 Des Hayes had already noted that among the nine Roman churches in Galata was the Jesuit church of St. Benedict where the young were

26. Samuel Richardson, author of *Pamela*, published Roe's correspondence in 1740: *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe . . .* [edited and] printed by Samuel Richardson (London 1740) 16 (27/i/1621 [=1622 new style]), 320 (19/12/1624), 334-35, 343-44 (24/i/1624 [=1625 new style]). Ducke Lane, later Duke St. and now Little Britain in Smithfield was well-known for its publishing houses and bookshops, new and second-hand. Pepys bought there, and on 10 April 1668 kissed the wife of one of the booksellers: H.B. Wheatley, *London Past and present*, 3 vols. (London 1895), i, 529-30; *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (London 1976), ix, 160-61. On Roe and Arundel and the search for MSS in Greece, Mary F.S. Hervey, *The life and collections of Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge 1921) 268-70, 275-80, 500. Ricaut commented on the spoliation of the Athos libraries by French and other collectors, *Present State of Greek & Armenian Churches*, 260-1. For the *Codex Alexandrinus*, H.I. Bell, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus*, 2nd revised edition (London 1963) 30-35.

27. G. Hofmann, 'Rom und der Athos', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 142 (1954); for Rossi, 6-9: it is not absolutely certain that Rossi was ordained. For the College, J. Krajcar, 'The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965) 85-118. Denissoff, 281, 301-2, considered that Vatopedi was the most intellectual of the Athonite monasteries and the Lavra the most sympathetic to the west, cf. Obolensky, 147-9. Belon, however, noted 37r, that there had formerly been a close association between Vatopedi and an unnamed church in Rome.

proseletysed and many orthodox bishops and archbishops had studied.²⁸ Rossi reached Athos in October 1635 and remained there until forced by the Turks to leave for Salonica in 1640. Sanguine at first about the progress of his school at Panteleimon and later at Karyes, he was to become disenchanted with the Athonite attitude to learning.²⁹ Rossi blamed neglect of the sacraments on the influence of a monk of Calvinist leanings (*della mensa calviniana*) who had been more than thirty years in England, had drunk the poison of hatred of Rome and claimed the sacraments were new inventions of the Roman church. News of this monk was received with some alarm by the Congregation.³⁰ In October 1639 Rossi sent details of the relics held by twenty Athonite monasteries to Monsignor Francesco Ingoli, the Secretary to the Congregation.³¹ The Congregation and Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), nephew of pope Urban VIII and papal librarian 1627-36, were interested in the manuscripts of Athos. Already in 1627 they had been sent a report and a list of twenty-seven manuscripts on Athos by another alumnus of St. Athanasius, Alexander Basilopoulos.³² In terms reminiscent of Basilopoulos' remarks, Rossi, in a report of March 1640, commented on the generally poor state of the Athos libraries. However, he noted the gift of printed Latin books by a donor called Margounios to Iviron. This must refer to the bishop of Cerigo, Maximos Margounios (c.1548-1602), who had bequeathed his Latin library to Iviron in 1602.³³ In August of

28. Des Hayes, 119-20; Roe, 758-63 has a long account of Jesuit and French machinations in Constantinople in 1627.

29. The tone of Rossi's letters becomes more plaintive, despite the admission of monks to St. Athanasius. Hofmann, nos. 4 (pp. 37-9), 16 (62-3), 17 (64-5), 23 (70-3), 24 (73-5) for the progress of the school; nos. 6 (42-3), 19 (66-68), 21-2 (69-70) for the admissions. In 1643 the synod on Athos asked the pope for a church in Rome for the use of Athonite monks while studying there. In return, accommodation on Athos was offered for Basilian monks from Italy, T. Ware, *Eustratios Argenti: a study of the Greek church under Turkish rule* (Oxford 1964) 22.

30. Hofmann, no. 16 pp. 62-3 (20/3/1638) and no. 18 p. 66 (24/9/1638).

31. Hofmann, introduction, 17-20, no. 25 (pp. 76-80).

32. G. Hofmann, 'Ein "Handschriften"-Verzeichnis des Athosklosters Dionysiu aus dem Jahre 1627' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951) 272-77.

33. Hofmann, introduction, 20-22; no. 25 (pp. 84-6). The reference to the bequest has not been noticed before; for Margounios, D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford 1966) 165-193 esp. 180-2.

the same year Rossi wrote that a monk had arrived from Constantinople with a list of books to obtain for printing. The list had been given to him by an Englishman there. Rossi obtained the list and though haste led him to omit sending it with his first report to Ingoli, he forwarded it with another letter two days later. Rossi assured his master that he would try to secure the manuscripts for Barberini, rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the Protestant heretics.³⁴ Who was this Englishman? In 1638, Archbishop Laud had advised his recently appointed Lecturer in Arabic at St. John's College, Oxford, Edward Pococke (1604-91), then in Constantinople:

That Greece having been often gleaned, the likeliest way left for good Greek manuscripts is, for you to strike over from the place where you are to Natolia, and see what that and Mount Athos will afford you, whilst you are so near them; which yet I must leave to your own conveniences.

Pococke after five years as chaplain to the Levant Company in Aleppo, had reached Constantinople in 1637 or 1638 and was to remain there until 1640/1. Already regarded for his learning, he was a friend of the Patriarch and active as a collector.³⁵ Pococke may well have been the Englishman whose buying-list Rossi was to send to Rome.

Whatever the search for books produced, the traffic was not all one way: in 1636 Rossi described the visit of an Englishman three years earlier. He spoke much ill of Rome and its attempts to poison the eastern church with heresy. With him he carried printed copies of the works of Chrysostom. Some were presented as gifts and others sold. His purpose was to show the monks that Chrysostom preferred to die rather than accept the Roman church. Hofmann demonstrated that the edition was that published by Sir Henry Savile at Eton in

34. Hofmann, no. 33 (90-92) [15/8/40] and no. 35 (93-94) [17/8/40].

35. [L.] Twells, *The lives of dr. Edward Pocock (sic) the celebrated orientalist* 2 vols. (London 1816), i, 56-62 (Pococke's activity collecting MSS in Constantinople), 66-7; J.B. Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company 1611-1706*, (Cambridge 1886) 19-21 (for Pococke in Aleppo); H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud*, 2nd ed. (London 1962 repr. 1965), 281-3. Pococke's portrait watches over readers in the Lower Reading Room in the Bodleian Library.

1610-12.³⁶ One wonders how copies were carried, for the work was in eight folio volumes.

The last account of Athos to be discussed here is that of Archbishop Joseph Georg(e)irenes. Georgirenes was a native of Melos and had been consecrated archbishop of Samos in 1666. About 1671 he left Samos because of the depredations of pirates. After an apparently unhappy stay on Patmos, he spent some time in Italy. In 1676 he came to London, to arrange for some printing. At that time a scheme was broached for the building of an orthodox church in Soho to serve the Greek residents in the capital. Many came from Melos or Samos and their descendants were known as Mr. Melos or Mr. Samos. With the support of James Duke of York and the Bishop of London, Henry Compton (1632-1713), of the family of Compton Wynyates in Warwickshire, the project was realised. The church was built between the present Charing Cross Road and Greek Street. The names Greek Street and Compton Street are associated with these events. The church itself was demolished in 1934.³⁷

36. Hofmann, no. 7 pp. 44-48 (15/6/36 and 20/6/36): an entertaining account of how Italians and Maltese enslaved by the Turks and released on Athos sought to persuade Rossi that Chrysostom had taught that Christ took the Cross up to heaven. Rossi referred them to the original MSS against the printed work of a heretic. Before leaving England after five years at Oxford (1617-22) Metrophanes Kritopoulos had been given Savile's *Chrysostom* by Archbishop George Abbot, Roe, 171-2. His progress to Venice was interrupted by visits in Germany and he reached Venice only in 1630. From Venice he went to Alexandria either directly or via Constantinople, but there seems to be no evidence that he revisited Athos where he had been a monk in his early years. On Metrophanes, Colin Davey, *Pioneer for unity: Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and relations between the orthodox, roman catholic and reformed churches* (London 1987). Davey thinks Metrophanes went directly to Alexandria, 288; A. Tillyrides, 'Some seventeenth century Greeks in Britain', *The Greek Gazette* 14 no. 154 (London, May 1980), 6-10, has him in Constantinople in 1631, p. 8. For Savile, cf. also Tillyrides, 6 n. 3. Roe, 765, has a passing reference to Savile's edition of Chrysostom. Margounios gave some assistance to Savile in editing Chrysostom, Geanakoplos, 176. Sheila Lambert, 'Richard Montagu, Arminianism and censorship', *Past & Present* 124 (August 1989) 36-68 (43) regards Richard Montagu, the future bishop, as the editor.

37. For Georgirenes's life and work, E. Stamatiades, 'Ἐπιστολιμαῖα διατριβὴ περὶ Ἰωσήφ Γεωργεiriήνου, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σάμου 1666-1671' (Samos 1892). On Georgirenes in London, M. Konstantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London*, (Oxford 1933) [parallel Greek/English text] 1-9. Georgirenes is said to have died in 1686, p. 7; T. Spencer, *Fair Greece, Sad Relic* (London 1954) 103-4. For another

While in London, Georgirenes wrote an account of Athos and some of the Aegean islands which was published in 1678 entitled, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and Mount Athos . . . Translated by one that knew the Author in Constantinople*. The translator was Henry Denton (1633?-1681) who had served as chaplain to the ambassador and to the Levant Company in Constantinople in 1664. The work is dedicated to James Duke of York in recognition of his patronage. An *Epistle to the Reader* which prefaces the work states that the author had visited all the places he describes. The account of Athos occupies 27 octavo pages.³⁸ Georgirenes has Lemnos 40 miles from Athos and, like both Belon and Sandys, overshadowed by Athos at sunset.³⁹ Monastic life on Athos began with the Muslim invasion of Egypt and Syria. The first cell was that of Athanasius at the Lavra. At first, the Rule of Antony was followed, but later that of Basil was adopted. Much of the account is taken up with an annotated list of the twenty-one monasteries with such details as the number of monks, notes on the origin of the name, and important relics. One name is that of Porpat, which is the residence of the Aga. It is the only place on Athos where a market is held, which happens every Saturday. Georgirenes must be speaking of the town of Karyes, the administrative centre of Athos in which the church of Protaton is located. Khiliandarion with 800 monks is the largest monastery, though many of its monks are overseas. The Lavra has 600 monks. The total number of monks is about 4300, although for Protaton, included by Isaiah and the *deftor* of 1520 among the monasteries, and for Dionysiou

derivation of Greek Street, N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London*, vol. 1 (*The cities of London & Westminster*) 2nd ed., (Harmondsworth 1962) 595-6. Further details and convincing argument for the derivation of the name 'Greek Street' from the church are in *Survey of London*, ed. F.H.W. Sheppard (London 1966), vols. 33, pp. 278-82 and 34, plates 16-18; Runciman, *Great Church*, 296-300; I have not yet seen Bishop T. Catsiannis, *The Greek community in London* (London 1993). An inscription in the church referred to James as *porphyrogenitos*.

38. J. Georgirenes, *A Description of the Present State of Samos, Nicaria, Patmos, and Mount Athos*, (London 1678) 85-112. For Denton, cf. J.B. Pearson, *Biographical Sketch*, 15.

39. This compares with Sandys's seven hundred furlongs distant, [87½ miles] and Mandeville's 76 miles: in fact the distance is rather less than 40 miles, cf. note 17 above.

and Docheiariou/Archangeli, the number of monks has been omitted, apparently through inadvertence.⁴⁰ As the *haraç* is three dollars a head, monks are sent out in pairs for up to three years at a time to beg for their monasteries. The numbers of hermitages and their relation to the monasteries are discussed. Nocturnal inspections ensure that no monk is out of his cell. 'One thing is very remarkable, that idleness is so utterly banished here, no man lives in the isle, who is not in some way employed'. The account concludes, 'Thus much of Mount *Athos*, wherein is a thing remarkable, beyond all example, that in a space of ground 160 miles in compass, where no less [*sic*] than 6000 men constantly live, there should not be seen a woman'. [Earlier, p. 85, the circuit is given as 170 miles] The sentiment of the last sentence is more to be expected from a western writer than from an orthodox archbishop. It is perhaps an exclamation interpolated by Denton, rather than a translation of the author's words. In general, the tone of Georgirenes' account is very impersonal. There is no censure of monastic obscurantism or illiteracy on Athos, such as occurs in Belon and Sandys, though a sentence on the impoverishment of Patmos might be taken for an awareness of monastic decline.

The *Description* was translated into German and published in Dresden in 1689 and 1792. It was cited with approval by Thomas Smith in his influential *An account of the Greek church as to its doctrine and rite of worship* of 1680. In Samos towards the end of the last century, Stamatiades published a Greek summary as part of a memoir and collection of material relating to Georgirenes.⁴¹ In London Georgirenes also wrote an appeal for funds for the education of Greeks in England and a broadsheet explaining his position over a dispute between the Greek church and the church of St. Martin-in-

40. Georgirenes, 93-4. Porpat is the church/monastery of Protaton in the village of Karyes: on its status, Hasluck, *Athos*, 168-171 and Lowry, 119 n. 19. Isaiah, a monk of Khiliadaron, made a short report on Athos in 1489 (Khitrowo, 257-64).

41. Smith remarks that Georgirenes' account was written in vulgar Greek and translated into French in Paris before being published in English. I have not been able to trace this French version. In commending Georgirenes' *Description*, he adds that the author 'lived severall years there' [i.e. on Athos], T. Smith, *An account of the Greek church as to its doctrine and rite of worship* (London 1680) 97-8. For Stamatiades, see note 37 above.

the-Fields (1682). To him has sometimes been attributed (e.g. *Catalogue of the British Library*, 1975) the authorship of a curious pamphlet entitled, *A true and exact relation of the strange finding out of Moses his tombe . . .* This, it seems, is nothing to do with Georgirenes but, according to Antony Wood, was a hoax perpetrated by the regicide Thomas Chaloner (1595-1661).⁴²

Among the papers of Dr. Thomas Smith preserved in the Bodleian Library are a copy of a letter written by Joseph Archbishop of Samos to Smith and an undertaking by the archbishop not to give scandal in the practice of his religion. These unpublished texts are given with literal translations in an appendix to this paper.

Finally, mention must be made of the descriptive notes on Athos made by John Covell, later Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, who visited Athos in 1677. Like Belon, Covell was a botanist, but he was scornful of Belon's terrestrial paradise: 'The place to one that loves solitude and plants, may well be cal'd what they now name [it] 'Επιγειος παραδεισος, yet unequal, passing steep ascents and descents, craggy stony way'.⁴³ The year 1679 saw the publication of Rycaut's *Present State*, and that magisterial work, as well as drawing on Covell, both incorporated and superseded much of the published writing on Athos. This review of the earliest modern accounts of Athos may therefore fittingly be concluded on the eve of its appearance.

*Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies,
University of Birmingham*

42. For the appeal, *Survey of London*, vol. 33, pp. 278-82; the broadsheet was entitled *From the arch-bishop . . . of Samos . . . an account of his building the Grecian church in So-hoe fields and the disposal thereof by the masters of the parish of St. Martins in the feilds* (sic) (London 1682).

The pamphlet is: *A true and exact relation of the strange finding out of Moses his tombe, in a valley neare unto Mount Nebo in Palestine communicated by a person of quality residing at Constantinople, to a person of Honour here in England, now by him permitted to be printed, for the fascination of the Ingenious* (London 1657). This is, of course, before Georgirenes was in England. Wood states that it was done to tease the presbyterians and continues, 'This book at its first appearance, made a great noise, . . . at length the author thereof becoming known, and his story found to be meer sham, the book became ridiculous and was put to posterior uses'. A.A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ed. P. Bliss, 4 vols. (London 1817), iii, cols 532-33.

43. Hasluck, 'First English Account', 114-5. The chapter on Athos in Rycaut's *State of the Greek and Armenian churches*, 215-263, acknowledges the author's debt to 'that worthy and ingenious person Mr. John Covell'.

Appendix I
The Numbers of Monks in Athonite Houses, 1489-1677
 (Figures in brackets refer to the notes after the table)

House	Isaiah 1489*	<i>Defter</i> c1520 [after Lowry]	Païssius 1550	Belon 1554	Joachim 1561	Georg- irenes before 1678	Covel 1677
Dionysiou	80	118			200		
Docheiariou	120	20			30		
Esphigmenou ⁽¹⁾	50	30			70	80	
Gregoriou	270	39			60	60	
Iviron	50	151			250	400	1100 ⁽²⁾
Karakallou	30	4			60	500 ⁽³⁾	50
Kastamonitou	90	41			50	5 or 7 ⁽⁴⁾	
Khiliandarion	170	132			200	800	
Koutloumousiou	60	39			120	300	300
Lavra	300	200	300	300	300	600	450
Panteleimon	120	25			170	20 ^(4&5)	
Pantokrator	40	91			200	200	150
Paulou	190	34			140	200	
Philotheou	70	18			160	50	30 ⁽⁶⁾
Protaton	30 ⁽⁷⁾	33			150		
Simonopetra	40	4			120	200	
Stavronikita					120	30	150
Vatopedi	330	271	320		270	300	350
Xenophonoudou	50	51			40	30	
Xeropotamou	90	27			50	300	
Zographou	66	114			200	200	
Aggregate	2246	1442			2960	4276/7 ⁽⁸⁾	2580
Totals ⁽⁹⁾			6000	5000- 6000	3000		6000 ⁽¹⁰⁾

* *Récit de la sainte montagne d'Athos* by Isaiah of Khilantari [1489] in de Khitrowo, 257-65.

- (1) I agree with Lowry, 127 n. 31, *contra* Hasluck that a monastery of 50 monks not named by Isaiah is to be identified with Esphigmenou.
 (2) Including 300 monks abroad.

- (3) Hasluck corrected this figure to 50, remarking that 500 was 'impossible', *Athos*, 42 n. 1. I am disinclined to follow Hasluck on this, as in several cases Georgirenes' figures are so high, and figures so low as 50 are usually preceded by 'but'. Lowry, n. 32, for a different reason, also prefers to retain 500.
- (4) Lowry, 126, has Georgirenes with only 3 monks at Kastamonitou but 60 at Panteleimon. These readings seem to be a slip, cf Georgirenes, 93-4.
- (5) At Panteleimon, 150 monks greeted Rossi in 1635, Hofmann, no. 4, p. 37.
- (6) Covell ed. Hasluck, 117, notes that there were formerly 500 monks at Philotheou.
- (7) Cf. Covell, 113-4.
- (8) Georgirenes notes that in addition more than a thousand monks live in hermitages.
- (9) The aggregates are the sum of the numbers for individual houses, where more than one or two houses are given. The totals are the estimates for the numbers of monks on Athos given separately in each source.
- (10) Covell, 114, notes in addition 2,000 monks abroad: Rycart, 249, has 6,000 of whom 2,000 are abroad. In 1637 Rossi estimated the total number of monks at 8,000, Hofmann, no. 12, pp. 51-2.

On the disparity between the numbers given in the sources, Lowry, esp. 125-7. Lowry draws attention to two important entries in the c.1520 *defter* which show the commutation of poll tax (*cizye*) and of tithe (*öşr*) on Athos to a fixed annual payment of 25,000 *akçe*. (Lowry, esp. 128-32). It is therefore difficult to understand why Abbot Paissius of Khiliandaron should have told Metropolitan Makarios that to evade tax only four thousand, rather than the true number of six thousand monks, should have been registered with the Ottoman authorities. Moreover, Georgirenes speaks of the *haraç* as being levied *per capita*. On the other hand Gerlach, note 12 above, and Covell, 109, imply at least a partial commutation. Joachim has a full account of tribute, mainly the *haraç*, paid on Athos expressed both in aspers and roubles. Rycart, 220-3, 252-3, gives the tax assessment for each monastery, not for Athos as a whole and claims additional taxes were levied on occasion. Cf. also Hasluck, *Athos*, 31-3.

Appendix II

Two Unpublished Documents of Joseph Georgirenes Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Smith 98

These texts are reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library. I am very much indebted to Miss Evaggeli Skàka for transcribing these documents and for discussion of the translations.

MS Smith 98. 31^{r-v}

Τῷ ἐλλογιμωτάτῳ καὶ σοφοτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Θωμᾷ ταπεινὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σάμου Ἰωσήφ εὐ πράττειν.

Οἱ φιλομαθεῖς ἄνδρες ὅτ' ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνομιλιῶν περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων (ὡς ἂν μὴ σιωπῶεν, ὅπερ ἄτοπον ἂν εἴη, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων ζώων πολιτικῶν) ποιοῦνται τοὺς λόγους, πῇ μὲν ἐρωτῶντας, πῇ δὲ καὶ ἀποκρινόμενοι, εἴθε τὰ τοιαῦτα εἴτ' εἴποισι ἂν ἀποφθέγματα, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως πως ὀνομάσαις, πολλάκις παρέργως συμπεραίνεισθαι· ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ περὶ πᾶν πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐρασταὶ ἀποφαινόνται τὰς τοιαύτας

ἀποκρίσεις οὐχ ὡς ἀληθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑοικυίας αὐτῇ καὶ πιθανὰς μόνον ἀποδεκτέον· ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες ἡ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐρώτησις καὶ ἀπόκρισις γέγονεν· ὅθεν οἱ αὐτοὶ φιλόσοφοι ἐπιτάττουσιν, εἰ μὲν τις ἔπειτα τῶν ἐρωτῶντων μετ' ἀκριβείας οὐ τῆς τυχαίουσης τὸ ἐρώτημα ἐπαναλαβὼν ἀναζητοῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πῶς καταμαθεῖν, τότε τῷ ἐρωτῶμένῳ προσεχῶς φρονίμως καὶ ἐξηκριβωμένως ἀποκριτέον ἐστί· διὰ δὲ ταῦτα γε κἀγὼ ἐρωτηθεὶς πᾶρά τῆς σῆς ἐλλογιμότητος, ὅν τρόπον τὰ βρέφη ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μεταλαμβάνει τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων, λίαν ἀκριβῶς περὶ τούτου, ἐπιστήσας τὸν νοῦν, τήνδε τὴν ἀψευδῆ καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ποιούμεαι ἀπόκρισιν· ἀποφαίνομαι τοίνυν οὐ μόνον ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, νέοι καὶ γέρω(ο)ντες, μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι κοινωνοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὸ δυοῖν εἰδοῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ βρέφη ἤδη βαπτισθέντα προσφερόμενα ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ σῶμα τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰς λεπτὰ μόρια, καὶ λαβίδιον ἀργυροῦν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ἀναλόγως τῷ στόματι τοῦ βρέφους λαμβάνουσιν ὀλίγον τοῦ αἵματος, ἔχοντος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀληθῶς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ λαβιδίῳ ἐστὶ ψυχία λεπτομερῇ, ἅπερ ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὴν μετάληψιν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς παράγγελμα, Τὸ 'ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ'.

Translation

A copy of an undated letter of Joseph [Georgirenes] Archbishop of Samos
to Dr. Thomas Smith

Joseph, humble archbishop of Samos, sends greetings to the distinguished and learned Mr. Thomas [Smith].

When men who love learning discuss various issues among themselves (for since men are political beings it would be improper for them to be silent), they pursue their debates by questions and answers. It befits them to express their opinions in plain words or otherwise to be exact, for then they often reach agreement. So, the learned, and especially lovers of the truth, present their responses not as true but as plausible assumptions, only to be taken as surmises. Questions and answers are not directed specifically to this purpose, for philosophers themselves advise that when, in his search for truth, anyone asks a question in a serious rather than a flippant manner, then he should receive a careful, wise and precise answer. And so in this way I respond to your esteemed questions on the reception by infants of the undefiled mysteries in the communion of the eastern church. Since you have raised this point with such precision, I give a most truthful answer without deceit. So I maintain that not only men and women, young and old, small and great receive communion of the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ in both kinds in the eastern church, but also infants themselves after baptism are brought to the priests in church. The priests hold in their left hand the sacred chalice, which contains tiny particles of the blood and body of the Saviour, while similarly silver tongs are held in their right. Then they place in the mouth of the infant a little of the blood in which of course there is also flesh, for on the tongs are spiritual fragments which suffice for participation in the holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ, in accordance with his command, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* [John 6: 56]

Note

In his *Account of the Greek church*, Smith's description of the practice of child communion, 161-2, is apparently uninfluenced by Georgirenes' response to his enquiries.

2. MS. Smith 98 fol. 47^r

Παραιτούμεθα τὴν μετουσίωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου μυστηρίου, ὥσπερ δεισιδαιμονίαν καινῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων βεβαιουμένην· παραιτούμεθα ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν σύνδοδον τὴν βηθλεεμιτικὴν μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἑτεροδιδασκαλίας, ἣν εἰσενήγκασιν οἱ τῆς Ρώμης εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀνατολικήν. Ὑποσχνούμεθα μὴ τίθεσθαι εἰκόνας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Λονδίῳ, μήτε προσκυνάζειν, λατρεῦειν ἢ δουλεῦειν ἄλλῳ ἐκτὸς Θεοῦ μόνου· μήτε εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, ὥσπερ εὐχονται οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, μήτε παρέχειν οὐδεμίαν θρησκείαν, ἥπερ εἴη ἐνανταίῃ τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀγγλικανῆς ἢ δόξῃ σκάνδαλον αὐτῇ. Οὕτως παραιτούμεθα, οὕτως ὑποσχνούμεθα ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀμήν. Δωθὲν ἔτει ἀχρὸν 2 Ἀπριλίου.

Ὁ Σάμου Ἰωσήφ

Translation

The Declaration of Joseph [Bishop]* of Samos, 2 April 1678

We renounce transubstantiation in the Holy Mysteries as a superstition newly held by the Romans: we renounce also the Synod of Bethlehem with all its false teaching which the Roman party introduced into the Eastern church. We promise not to set up images in our church which is in London, nor to kneel before, worship or serve any god but the One God; and neither to pray for the dead, as the Romans do, nor to hold any service contrary to that of the English church nor to give scandal to it. These things we renounce, and we make these promises in the name of God, Amen. Given in the year 1678 on 2 April.

Joseph [bishop]* of Samos.

*The word is struck out in the MS

Notes

1. The handwriting differs from that of the scribe of fol. 31.
2. The plural form seems to indicate that the declaration is on behalf of the congregation of the Soho church.
3. The declaration may reflect the pressure in London on groups suspected of sympathy with Rome. Henry Compton, bishop of London and patron of the Greek church in Soho, was consistently Protestant and anti-Roman. But anti-Catholic feeling in London just before the Popish Plot of August 1678 was not especially evident, John Miller, *Popery and politics in England 1660-1688* (Cambridge 1973) esp. 151-7 and K.H.D. Haley, "No Popery" in the reign of Charles II' in *Britain and the Netherlands*, 5, ed. J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman (The Hague 1975) 102-119.
4. The synod of Bethlehem, more often called the Synod of Jerusalem, was held in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem in 1672. The synod is often considered as inclining to Rome, especially in its attitudes to transubstantiation and prayers for the dead. Its acts were published by M. Foucqueret OSB, *Synodus Bethleemetica adversus Calvinistas Haereticos* (Paris 1676).

The Birmingham conference on Greece as a member of the European Union: sixteen years after its accession.

Introduction

SPIROS KAMINARIS and PANAGIOTIS PANAGOPOULOS

The five papers which follow are the outcome of a Conference on Greece and its role in the European Union sixteen years after its accession, hosted by the University of Birmingham. It took place on the 16th of May 1997 at the Institute for German Studies which kindly offered its facilities for this event. The papers of the Conference which have been substantially revised for publication in this journal had as a purpose to explore not only the political, military, economic, and cultural role of Greece since it became a full EEC member but also the contemporary role of the only Balkan state that is an EU member, in the tremendous changes that take place in Europe in the 1990s.

Although Greece is the poorest EU member state, its people have always been supporters of a united Europe. In the 1980s the Greek economy underwent a long period of austerity measures. The results of the sacrifices of the Greeks were not obvious, however, until recently, when the Papandreou era ended and the government of Simitis, a recognised technocrat, took over, to be faced with the task of bringing Greece closer to the convergence criteria for economic union with the rest of the EU member states. There is no doubt that Greece is still the poorest EU state behind Portugal and its economic indicators look worrying.

Greece's strategic geopolitical position in Europe is the key to its future contribution to the EU's process of integration and economic growth. On the one hand, Greece is located at the eastern Mediterranean border of the Union which is a crossroads between East and West as

well as the industrial North and the agricultural South. On the other hand, Greece has the strongest economy in the Balkan peninsula and its role in the economic and political relations between its neighbours and the EU gives the Greek government the opportunity to influence EU policy in the region as a whole.

Greek-Turkish relations are the only current obstacle to the role of Greece as a bridge between the EU and the Eastern Mediterranean basin. Cyprus, which has been divided into the Greek Cypriot-dominated South and the Turkish Cypriot-controlled North when Turkish troops invaded and took over the northern part of the island following a pro-Athens coup in 1974, and Ankara's tough policy refusing any concessions in principle, are the main problems in the relations between Greece and Turkey. Furthermore, Greek-Turkish relations have been worsening since the Cypriot government announced that it will not give up the controversial plan to buy 150 kilometre-range anti-aircraft S-330 missiles from Russia. While Greece is accusing Turkey of numerous violations of its air space, Western experts believe that a conflict may break out over the disputed Aegean islands which brought Greece and Turkey close to a military confrontation in January 1996. This in turn makes the EU countries indecisive about supporting Ankara's view, fearing to include the Cyprus problem in the diplomatic negotiations.¹ However, the most recent developments with the exclusion of Turkey from the future EU membership negotiations because of its poor human rights record, weak economy as well as its territorial disputes with Greece, showed for the first time that Greece cannot be considered as the reason for maintaining a distance between the EU and Turkey. The future initiatives of the Greek government will determine to a great degree the relations between Turkey and the 15 EU member states.

Greece as a member of the EU has contributed to the political and economic decision-making of the Union especially when it held the EU Presidency. The Greek government has taken many initiatives

1. Tony Barber, 'Europe's coming war over Cyprus', *Independent*, 01-23-1997, pp. 16. Also, 'News Analysis: EU Entry Still Beyond Turkey', *Xinhua News Agency*, 11-29-1997.

with respect to the future economic shape of the Union as well as the prospect of enlargement towards Cyprus and Eastern Europe. It is worth mentioning that due to the help of the Greek communities in the Balkans and historic and religious ties with the region, the Greek economy has received a 'shot in the arm' from the booming trade with its Balkan neighbours as it is expanding beyond its own market of ten million people. According to a report of the European Commission in 1993, Greece stands to reap the largest projected gains within the EU from successful economic reform in the former communist countries. The Commission estimated the gain for Greek manufacturing output at 10.9 per cent between 1995 and 2010. In Bulgaria Greek investments amount to a total of \$34 million among 1,000 companies and joint ventures, the highest number held by any foreign country. Likewise in Romania, 1,138 Greek firms have invested \$22.2m overall. Tension over the rights of the Greek minority in Kosovo has not stopped Greece from investing in Albania, where the Greeks are second only to the Italians, with 100 ventures worth \$33.5m. Trade with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), even if it was interrupted when Athens imposed an embargo on its landlocked neighbour, indicated that FYROM was Greece's biggest trade partner in the Balkans with business totalling \$110m in 1993.

For companies wishing to invest in the region Greece could be seen also as a 'bridge' to the Balkans since its northern port city of Salonika is no more than a day's drive from most Balkan capitals. Coca-Cola, for instance, is distributed in Bulgaria entirely by Greece's Hellenic Bottling, which has invested \$20m there, including plastic crate production, and plans to open a \$16m canning facility outside Sofia by the middle of the year. The Hellenic company has minority shares in Coca-Cola bottling facilities in Romania and Moldova, 50 per cent of Brewinvest (a joint venture with Heineken's Greek subsidiary Athenian Brewery), 80 per cent of Zagorka (Bulgaria's largest state brewery), and plans to invest \$41m there in the next five years. Delta, Greece's largest dairy company, is setting up a £10m ice cream production plant in Bulgaria, where it holds a 50 per cent share of the market. Another Greek Company, Motor Oil, which imports and distributes crude oil from Saudi Arabia and elsewhere into Greece with annual sales of \$800m, planned a £60m

lubricants refinery in Russia, is negotiating the modernisation of a refinery in Azerbaijan, is also setting up a gas distribution network in Bulgaria and sells oil products to Romania and Ukraine.² Exports to the area total \$100m. Motor Oil is owned by shipping tycoon Vardis Vardinoyannis, whose group is building nine tankers in Ukraine's shipyards, worth £300m. The Greeks are also moving into banking services. Alpha Credit Bank, a private Greek institution, was the first foreign bank to open Banca Bucureşti in the Romanian capital in 1995 and planned to open five branches in Romania.³

The Birmingham Conference was a unique effort to bring together scholars and experts in order to explore the actual role of Greece in the past, present and future European Union.

Predicting the future role of Greece in EU policy-making is not an easy task. Lessons from the past will be the main guideline for the Greeks, who are aware of the fact that more sacrifices will be necessary in order to correct the mistakes of the previous decade and join the European 'powers' enjoying the fruits of European integration in the years to come. It seems that Greece is heading towards the right direction and its political, economic and cultural contribution will certainly be noticed by its European partners.

*University of Birmingham
Aalborg University, Denmark*

2. 'Young ones shaping the future'. (profile of 40 young European business leaders and industrialists), *The European*, 01-02-1997, pp. 22(2). Also, Jenny Paris, 'Greece strengthens links with Balkan neighbours', *The European*, 03-03-1995, pp. 23(1).

3. Alpha is a universal banking organisation offering a broad range of innovative products and services through its branch network and subsidiaries. First in managing mutual funds and trading government securities, Alpha is also a leader in the emerging derivative, equity and debt markets: 'S&P Assigns "BBB-" CP rating to Alpha Credit Bank', *Business Wire*, 12-17-1997; Jenny Paris, 'Greece strengthens links with Balkan neighbours', *The European*, 03-03-1995, pp. 23(1).

ARTICLES

The Representations of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle*, and Related Pictures

ALBRECHT BERGER and JONATHAN BARDILL

I

The *Liber chronicarum* that was written by the humanist Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) from Nuremberg, and which appeared in 1493, is one of the most sumptuous printed works of the fifteenth century, largely because of its wood-cut illustrations by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.¹ Among these wood-cuts there is a panorama of Constantinople on fol. 129^v and 130^r (*fig. 1*) that is repeated later in the chronicle three times in a slightly simplified form with small variants.² The panorama appears where the chronicle describes the foundation of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, although the text also gives some information about the history of the city until the conquest by the Ottomans in 1453. Since the account is of little interest and contains a number of incorrect details, we will confine ourselves to an analysis of the illustration.³

The authors are grateful to Achim Krümmel and Urs Peschlow for advice (see ns. 23, 26), and Jonathan Bardill wishes to thank the British Academy for its support.

1. H. Schedel, *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg 1493); German version by G. Alt (Nuremberg 1493). On the chronicle, see: G. Sprengler, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik* (dissertation, Munich 1904); E. Rücker, *Die Schedelsche Weltchronik* (Munich 1988). On the wood-cuts, see: V. v. Loga, 'Die Städteansichten in Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik', *Jahrbuch der kgl. preußischen Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1888), 93-107, 184-196; L. Sladeczek, *Albrecht Dürer und die Illustrationen zu Schedels Weltchronik* (Baden-Baden 1965). A facsimile edition with commentary: W. Kreuer, *Imago Civitatis. Stadtbildsprache des Spätmittelalters* (Ludwigsburg 1993), who discusses Constantinople on 82-87 but makes some wrong identifications. On representations of Constantinople: S. Eyice, 'İstanbul'un en eski iki gravürü', *Antik Dekor* 21 (1993), 34-39.

2. It is repeated on fol. 249^r, 274^r and 290^r, in the last instance with the inscription *Italia*.

3. A correct account of the conquest can be found on fol. 249^r.

Constantinople is shown in a bird's-eye view, apparently from the east. The city appears as it may have looked before the conquest: the gates are decorated with the Byzantine double eagle; in the city there are no Islamic buildings; and outside there are no Ottoman troops with cannons, as appear on similar contemporaneous pictures that show the conquest.⁴

The double land walls and the sea walls that surround the city form a rounded enclosure, which has a corner only in the south-west. The space inside the walls is largely empty, and the few houses that are shown are located behind the sea walls on the shores of the Marmara and Golden Horn.⁵ The major monuments that the artist has picked out for special attention are the Hagia Sophia, the ruins of the old imperial palace, the Late Byzantine residence in the north-west of the city, a complex of churches nearby, and the church of the Holy Apostles. The remaining structures are less distinct, and the houses and other buildings that fill the spaces between them are merely conventional. Because of the use of such conventional signs, it is often difficult to determine whether a building is a significant monument or not.

Topographical analyses of town representations in this and later periods all pose similar problems: the buildings selected by the artist are enlarged in relation to the size of the city in order to be recognisable, with the result that they appear much closer to each other than they were in reality. We can attempt to name the unidentified monuments only by considering their positions in relation to the recognisable ones (*fig. 2*).

Only Hagia Sophia is labelled. It is shown, quite inaccurately, as an octagonal, centralised building with a nave behind. The octagon

4. As, e.g., in the French miniatures of the codices Par. Bibl. Nat. 6487 and 9087, which are both reproduced in W. Müller-Wiener, *Die Häfen von Byzantion — Konstantinupolis — Istanbul* (Tübingen 1994), pls. 1.2 and 2. Kreuer, *Imago civitatis* 84 sq. prefers a date after the conquest, believing, amongst other things, that the crescent in the coat of arms with crosses is a Turkish symbol.

5. That Constantinople was nearly empty in the last decades before 1453 is proved by a number of sources. See A.M. Schneider, 'Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels im XV. Jahrhundert', *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* 4 (1949), 233-244.

is surrounded by a lower ambulatory, and has a lantern dome. Such a church is inconceivable in the area of Byzantine cultural influence, and would be more appropriate in fifteenth-century Italy. In fact, the depiction may have been influenced by the Cathedral in Florence on fol. 87^r of Schedel's work. The wood-cut thus reflects pictorial conventions of contemporary Western European art, and should not be used as a source for architectural details.

In front of Hagia Sophia stands a column surmounted by an equestrian statue. This is clearly Justinian's column in the Augustaion (on which, see Part II below), to the right of which is an unidentified basilical church close to a gate in the sea walls. To the left of the column there is another polygonal church, this time with a bulging lantern dome — again a type that would not have been built in Constantinople. Above this church is a domed rotunda. These two domed churches might be Christ at the Chalke, St. John in the Diipion, or the Nea. (On these buildings, see Part II below.) The shape of the two round towers with needle-like roofs is difficult to explain. It is unlikely that they are meant to be minarets, since no other minaret can be seen in the picture. No mosque with two minarets exists in this part of the city today (although it is quite possible that the building is not shown in its correct location). They are probably intended to be the two obelisks of the hippodrome. Further to the south there are some crumbling walls with trees growing out of them. These are the ruins of the old imperial palace. On their north-eastern side there are two columns bearing large capitals with a knob on top and bulbous projections all around. The brook that leaves the city walls through a gate further to the west is the river Lykos, whose mouth actually lies about 2 km from the imperial palace. Close to its mouth, and inside the city, is a fortress, which cannot be identified at first sight.

In the north-west of the city a two-storey palace is visible. This consists of a central building with a dome, to which two gabled wings are attached at right angles. Its position suggests that it is a part of the Blachernai palace, or the Tekfur Sarayı, both of which were just inside the city walls. The Tekfur Sarayı, however, may be the building shown at the north end of the double land wall, in which case it is in its correct location.

To the right of this building, the wall forks to form a small fortress that is separated from the city. In the fifteenth century it is probable that little remained of the old Blachernai wall, which had lost its defensive importance following the construction of the Comnenian wall in the twelfth century.⁶ The two walls on Schedel's picture can, therefore, hardly be the old and new Blachernai wall, and are more likely to represent the outwork of Leo V (815-820), which strengthened the northernmost part of the Blachernai wall. This outwork is actually only about 100 m broad, and is therefore shown disproportionately large in relation to the rest of the city.

In a walled precinct to the south of the Blachernai palace stands a building that consists of two adjoining domed rotundas. It is surrounded by four columns that are similar to those beside the imperial palace, but which are arranged like bell-towers or minarets. Further to the south there is a building composed of five domed rotundas: this is the church of the Holy Apostles that was demolished shortly after the conquest in 1456; it actually lay to the south-east of the Blachernai palace and was cruciform with five domes.⁷

Below the Blachernai palace, and to the left and right of Hagia Sophia's lantern dome, are shown two more churches — one a basilica and one a rotunda — that cannot be identified immediately.

In the south-west corner of the city, inside the land walls, there is a huge tower that might belong to a palace or a fortress. This can only be part of the Yedikule, the fortress that was added by the Ottomans to the former Golden Gate of the land walls in 1458, following the demolition of the church of the Holy Apostles. If the panorama is supposed to show Constantinople as it was before the conquest of 1453, this is an anachronism.

The two drag-chains that are represented on the panorama are worthy of note. One of them begins at the Seraglio point below Hagia Sophia and leads out into the Bosphorus; the other one is located further up the Golden Horn and is attached to the opposite shore in

6. On these walls, see B. Meyer-Plath — A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, II (Berlin 1943), 100-102.

7. On the problem of the original form, see C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in der justinianischen Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973), 131-138.

Galata. The chains are shown hanging under the water, which indicates that the draughtsman did not have a clear idea of how the barrier worked: in fact, wooden floats attached to the chains kept them on the surface of the water. The inner chain is the well-known one that protected the harbour on the Golden Horn. It is first mentioned in 717/18 and was used regularly until 1453.⁸ An unclear tenth-century text mentions a chain across the Bosphorus, which was fastened to the tower standing in the sea close to the Asiatic shore (formerly called the Tower of Leander by European travellers, now the so-called Kızkulesi).⁹ There is no mention of this chain at a later date, and it is unlikely to have existed in the last years of the Byzantine empire since the Asiatic coast was already in the hands of the Ottomans. It is uncertain whether the draughtsman of the Schedel panorama had some information about this chain or whether it is a product of his fancy, located in the right place only by chance. The Bosphorus chain must have begun inside the city at a tower some distance to the south of the Seraglio point.¹⁰

On the right-hand side of the panorama we see the Genoese town of Galata, surrounded by a wall and built up tightly, as was indeed the case at the time. Details cannot be made out with certainty.¹¹

Current scholarly opinion seems to be that this panorama of Constantinople is one of several in the Schedel chronicle that were copied from drawings made on the spot.¹² But the differences between

8. R. Guiland, 'La chaîne de la Corne d'Or', *EEBS* 25 (1955), 88-120 (= *Études de Topographie de Constantinople byzantine* [Berlin and Amsterdam 1969], II 121-146).

9. *Leonis Diaconi Historiae*, ed. C.B. Hase (Bonn 1828), 78 sq. The mention of the Bosphorus and the fact that the Asiatic fastening point is called *katantiperas* are arguments for its existence: see K. Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel* (Hanover 1925), 39-42; and contrast Guiland, 'La chaîne' 90. On the terminology of *pera* and *antipera* see A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, *Poikila Byzantina* 8 (Bonn 1988), 140 sq. The representation of two chains is also stressed by Eyice, 'Gravürü' 37.

10. Wulzinger, *Baudenkmäler*.

11. Kreuer, *Imago civitatis* 85, tries to identify two buildings as the Dominican church of St. Paul and the church of St. George.

12. See v. Loga, 'Städteansichten' 184; Sprengler, *Welchchronik* 25; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977), 31; Kreuer, *Imago civitatis* 84, who speaks about an 'unknown prototype' without giving further details.

the picture and the reality of Constantinople before the conquest are so great that this can hardly be the case. The inaccuracies suggest that it was based on one or more representations of Constantinople that had come into the hands of the Nuremberg wood-cutters through some intermediate stages. Some of these representations may have been made before 1453. However, if the fortress shown in the south-west of the city is actually the Yedikule, then at least one was made after the conquest.

One source of Schedel's wood-cut is without doubt the panorama of Cristoforo Buondelmonti (*fig. 3*). It was drawn in 1422 and appears with considerable differences in a large number of manuscripts.¹³ The various versions show the city, with a more or less rounded outline, in a bird's-eye view from the south. In Schedel's version, the direction of view has apparently been changed from south to east, and the spectator sees the city from a lower altitude and at a shallower angle than in Buondelmonti's picture. Corresponding details in the views of Schedel and Buondelmonti are the double land walls, the gate on the Sea of Marmara in the south-west of the city, the mouth of the river Lykos, and the fact that Galata is included. Only a few of the labelled monuments in the Buondelmonti view can be easily recognised in Schedel's wood-cut. Among them are the Hagia Sophia, which has a lantern dome as in the Buondelmonti view, the column of Justinian, and the Blachernai palace. Buondelmonti shows a number of monumental columns, of which only that of Justinian is clearly discernible in Schedel's picture. The rest have become the large columns with the knobbly capitals: two in the imperial palace, and four around the building in the north-west.

If we take a closer look at Buondelmonti, the large monumental columns of Theodosios I at the Tauros, and of Arkadios in his forum

13. G. Gerola, 'Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti', *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 3 (1931), 247-279; T. Thomov, 'New Information about Cristoforo Buondelmonti's Drawings of Constantinople', *B* 66 (1996), 431-453; I.R. Manners, 'Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*', *Annual of the Association of the American Geographers* 87/1 (1997), 72-102. Schedel's dependence on Buondelmonti is denied by Schneider, 'Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels' 242, but without detailed argumentation.

at the Xerolophos (which are shown in the space between the hippodrome and the Peribleptos monastery) can easily be identified with the two columns shown in Schedel's wood-cut that are located beside the ruins of the imperial palace. Schedel's twin-domed building surrounded by four columns is therefore probably the monastery of John Prodromos *en te Petra*, which appears next to the column that once bore a statue of the emperor Constantine kneeling before an angel.¹⁴ It seems that, in Schedel's view, the monastery has become combined with the column. In front of this column, the Buondelmonti view shows the church of the Holy Apostles. Like most churches in the drawing, except Hagia Sophia, it is shown as a simple domed building in a rectangular enclosure. It is not emphasised in any way and is even missing in some versions. There can be no doubt that the building with five domes in Schedel's picture is the church of the Holy Apostles, but since its true architectural form is discernible, Schedel's wood-cutters must have copied it from a source other than Buondelmonti. This is also true of the outwork of Leo V, which does not appear in Buondelmonti's view.

The identification of the two churches between the Blachernai palace and Hagia Sophia depends on the extent to which the perspective of the Buondelmonti view has been altered. If Schedel's view shows them from the east, then the rotunda could be either the monastery of Christ Pantokrator or the monastery of Christ Pantepoptes (both of which are shown in this area by Buondelmonti in the stylised way mentioned above), and the basilica with a crenellated tower could be identical with Buondelmonti's *palatium chir Luca*. Since, however, Schedel's panorama does not completely alter Buondelmonti's perspective (as will become clear below), it is possible that the churches are to be identified with those that appear to the left and right of the dome of Hagia Sophia in Buondelmonti's view. The

14. This must in fact be the column that was erected by Michael VIII Palaiologos after 1261. The sculpture on its top showed him giving a model of the city to the archangel Michael, cf. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 406; C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot 1993), X 11. The monastery of John Prodromos *en te Petra* is shown flanked by a pair of columns in the two manuscripts in Florence (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. XXIX, 25; Biblioteca Nazionale, II, II, 312).

basilica with the tower would then be the church of St. Peter, which was apparently a Latin sanctuary,¹⁵ and the rotunda would be the church of St. George in the Mangana (on which, see Part II below). The only existing tower inside the city is the so-called Tower of Eirene, in the area of the modern Bazaar. Its position suggests that it may be the tower shown in the views of Buondelmonti and Schedel.

The version of the Buondelmonti panorama that seems to be closest to that used for Schedel's view, and which has therefore been selected for reproduction here, is contained in the codex Par. Bibl. Nat. 2823. It shows the fortress at Yedikule in the south-western corner of the city, which indicates that it was drawn after 1458. The large number of labels in Galata and some Arabic inscriptions suggest that it originated from Italian circles in Constantinople some years after the conquest. The inscription *palatium chir Luca* on the aforementioned building with the tower,¹⁶ which appears only in this version of the view, provides another indication of the date. *Chir Luca* is the general (*megas doux*) Lukas Notaras, who played an important role in the last years of the empire (hence after Buondelmonti's visit), and who was taken prisoner and executed shortly after the conquest in 1453.¹⁷

The use of another source, namely an early version of the so-called Vavassore panorama, explains why Schedel's view shows the city (at

15. This church whose full name was Sts. Peter and Paul, lay in the Pisan concession, i.e. somewhere close to the Yeni Cami of today. It is mentioned from the 12th century onwards and was finally transferred to the Florentines in 1439, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, première partie: le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique*, III. *Les Églises et les Monastères* (Paris 1969), 573 sq. On the location of the Pisan concession, see R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris 1964), 100-102, and A. Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45 (1995), 161-163.

16. The building is best seen in Urbin. 277a.

17. See Berger, 'Ufer', 158. On Notaras, see E. Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Paläologenzeit* VIII (Wien 1986), no. 20730. Only this version contains the spires of the gate of St. Barbara in the sea wall (the later Topkapı Gate on Seraglio point), although it is shown much too far to the west, and the bridge over the upper Golden Horn with the adjoining paper mill built by the Ottomans (Kâğıthane). Another view, which is based on Buondelmonti and shows the city as it would have looked in the early Ottoman period, has been published by Manners, 'Constructing the Image', 76, 87.

least in part) from the east, whereas the Buondelmonti view shows it from the south. The panorama of Giovanni Andrea Vavassore was published in a great number of different versions from about 1530 onward, but shows Constantinople as it was around 1480 (*fig. 4*).¹⁸ A number of details in Schedel's wood-cut were clearly derived from the Vavassore prototype. In Schedel's picture, the Yedikule appears with a large tower that may have been taken from the Vavassore prototype. The church with the lantern dome to the west of Justinian's column, for which several possible identifications were suggested above, bears so close a resemblance to the church labelled *S. Luca* in Vavassore's plan that the same building, the Nea church, must be intended.¹⁹ The domed rotunda above it also appears in the Vavassore panorama, immediately to the left of the dome of Hagia Sophia. Comparison with Schedel's second view (on which, see Part II below) suggests that this is in fact the church of St. John in the Diipion.^{19a} The landscape behind the city walls is shown in a similar way in both views, and the unlabelled church in the upper right corner of Schedel's view can be identified with the church of *S. Helena* shown on the Vavassore panorama.²⁰ The panorama in Schedel's chronicle gains special importance as being proof of the existence of the Vavassore prototype in the fifty years between its design and Vavassore's first surviving print.

Since neither the Vavassore panorama nor the Buondelmonti view depicts the church of the Holy Apostles with five domes (the Vavassore view shows only the mosque of Mehmet Fatih, which replaced it), the outwork of Leo V, or the two chains, we must assume that yet more sources contributed to Schedel's wood-cut. It can be demonstrated that the combination of elements from Buondelmonti and the Vavassore prototype to form a new panorama was not the work of Schedel's

18. A. Berger, 'Zur sogenannten Stadtansicht des Vavassore', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44 (1994), 329-355.

19. On this, see below, pp. 19-20.

19a. On this, see below, pp. 18-19.

20. It is probably identical with the Islamic sanctuary of Eyüp on the upper Golden Horn, see Berger, 'Stadtansicht', 347.

wood-cutters. The fusion of elements can already be detected only a few years after the assumed date of the Vavassore prototype. The *Supplementum chronicarum* of Jacobo Philippo Foresti da Bergamo appeared first in Venice in 1483, and several illustrated editions with wood-cuts followed between 1486 and 1503.²¹ The 1486 edition contains a wood-cut of Constantinople (*fig. 5*),²² although the city can hardly be recognised at first sight. Only the Yedikule in the left foreground, and a single tower on the right side, which must be the Kızkulesi, allow a safe identification. The position of the Kızkulesi, in the lower right-hand corner of the view, seems to indicate that it was taken from the Vavassore prototype. There is a draw-bridge leading over a stretch of water that might be either the Golden Horn or the Bosphorus. The 1486 picture was replaced by another, better one in the editions of 1490, 1492, and 1503 (*fig. 6*).²³ Here, the position of Galata, at the top of the picture, suggests dependence on the Buondelmonti view. However, the city has been rotated according to the Vavassore prototype, though not completely, with the result that the land walls have wandered to the top of the picture and are shown opposite Galata. Already the rounded contours of the city, and the large gate through which the Lykos flows into the sea anticipate Schedel's wood-cut. This suggests that the Foresti wood-cuts and the Schedel panorama are dependent on a view of Constantinople that combined elements from the Vavassore prototype and the Buondelmonti view.

In Foresti's second wood-cut, Constantinople lies almost entirely on solid land, and reaches the sea only in the south-west. Outside the city walls, there is a fortified mole and a massive tower. These elements were probably taken over from representations of the city

21. Prince d'Essling, *Les Livres à Figures vénitiens I* (Paris 1907), no. 342-354; on the chronicle in general, A. Krümmel, *Das 'Supplementum Chronicarum' des Augustinermönches Jacobus Philippus Foresti von Bergamo* (Herzberg 1991).

22. fol. 82^r. The same wood-cut has also been used to represent Epidauros, Mitylene, Gaeta, Pisa, Utica, Civitavecchia, and Porto Venere; even Thebes in a later edition: see Krümmel, *ibid.*, 130-132.

23. fol. 52^r. The same picture was also used to represent Naples in 1490 and 1492, and Gaeta and Euboea in 1503. We wish to thank Achim Krümmel for information about the later editions of Foresti's chronicle.

of Rhodes. Rhodes' survival of the Ottoman siege in 1480 received much attention in western Europe, and was described in popular books, such as the *Descriptio obsidionis urbis Rhodi* which contains, in the edition of 1496, a wood-cut showing the city's harbour with its characteristic windmills on the mole. This view appears in 1513 and 1516 in a mirrored version in the German 'Turkish Chronicle' of Johannes Adelphus.²⁴ There, it is used to illustrate the thunderstorm in Constantinople in July 1490 (fig. 7), an event also described in Schedel's chronicle (see below, Part II). The parallels between this picture and the wood-cut in the 1490 edition of Foresti's chronicle suggest that a mirrored panorama of Rhodes was circulating in Europe soon after 1480, from which they both drew details. The non-mirrored version from which the mirrored one derived was probably the source of the wood-cut in the 1496 edition of the *Descriptio obsidionis*.

Typical eastern details such as columns are shown in Foresti's 1486 wood-cut, but they are omitted in the version of 1490. Both versions show a large gate in the city walls. In the 1486 version, the gate has a draw-bridge, and in the 1490 version a brook or road passes through it. Behind the gate in both views is a basilica with a tower and spire. These details were clearly derived from a version of Buondelmonti similar to the Par. Bibl. Nat. 2823, on which the church of the Stoudios monastery, in the south-western corner of the city, is shown in a similar way. Because the space for the illustration was limited, the artist of the Foresti wood-cuts chose to fill the whole of the area within the walls with just the buildings in this region of Constantinople. If the tower were a minaret, as one might suppose, this would be further proof of the post-conquest date of this version of Buondelmonti. However, the conversion of the Stoudios church to a mosque took place only around 1500, thus long after the revised Buondelmonti panorama was drawn.²⁵ Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine why, of all the minarets in the city (including those at Hagia Sophia), that at the Stoudios church should be singled out. The basilica of Stoudios

24. See v. Loga, 'Städteansichten' 186; C. Göllner, *Turcica. Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts I* (Bucarest 1961), nos. 56 and 80.

25. See Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 150.

originally possessed two staircase towers at its western end, and the Buondelmonti picture is perhaps the only evidence that one of them survived until the Ottoman conquest.²⁶ Another possibility is that the tower was a belfry added to the church in the Late Byzantine period, although nothing of it survives.

The prominence of the Stoudios church in the wood-cuts of Foresti's chronicle suggests that it should appear in Schedel's panorama too. Indeed, it must be the basilica just inside the city-gate below Hagia Sophia; it is shown without a belfry, but this may simply be due to lack of space. If this identification is correct, it would seem that the few buildings standing on the south coast of the city in the views of Buondelmonti and Foresti, have, in Schedel's view, been located on the eastern part of the south coast. It therefore seems likely that the fortress behind the sea-walls, and immediately to the west of the two columns with knobbly capitals, is the Yedikule. The result is that the Yedikule is shown twice in Schedel's view, once in the middle of the panorama, and again at the extreme left-hand side of it.

In the Par. Bibl. Nat. 2823, we see, just to the south of the Stoudios monastery, the mouth of a river and the Blanga harbour with its mole. The Blanga harbour had already partially silted up by this time, although only later did the Ottomans incorporate it into the walls.²⁷ Most versions of the Buondelmonti panorama show the mole as a stone bridge with arches, but not the manuscript from Paris to which Schedel and Foresti's chronicle are related. The draw-bridge on Foresti's 1486 wood-cut clearly represents — or rather replaces — either the river or the mole. The fortified mole further to the west in both of Foresti's pictures apparently has no counterpart in reality: it was taken over from wood-cuts of Rhodes, as we have said above, although it was perhaps also influenced by the way in which Buondelmonti depicts the transition from the sea-walls to the double land-wall in the south-western corner of Constantinople.

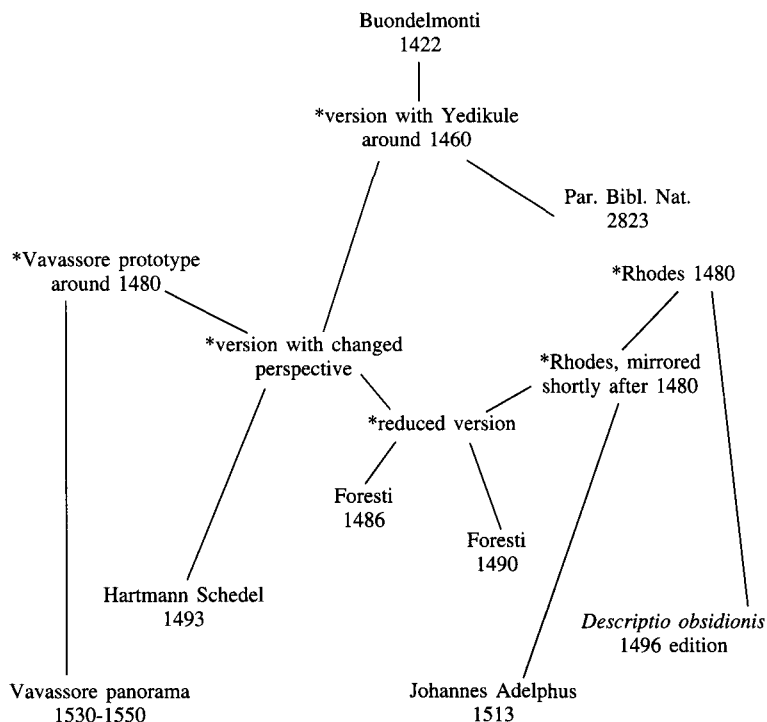
Since only a small selection of buildings from a specific area is

26. We wish to thank Urs Peschlow for this suggestion.

27. A. Berger, 'Der Langa Bostan in Istanbul', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993), 467-477.

used in Foresti's chronicle to represent all the buildings of Constantinople, it cannot be stated whether the church of the Apostles with its five domes, the outwork of Leo V, and the harbour chains were already present in their prototype, or added only in Schedel's panorama. Schedel, it may be noted, omits the mole which projects into the sea; we would expect it to start from the westernmost city-gate and to run to the right into the foreground of the picture.

The relations between the various pictures of Constantinople and Rhodes discussed here can be shown by the following stemma, in which the hypothetical stages are marked with an asterisk:



The accepted opinion about the origin of Schedel's panorama must thus be corrected: it is ultimately derived from two main sources, one of which was already more than seventy years old by 1493. It was also enriched with additional material from an unknown source.

II

The second representation of Constantinople in Schedel's chronicle, on fol. 257^r, illustrates an entry about a thunderstorm in the city on 12 July 1490. According to Schedel's text, it was based on reports from Venetian merchants. In the storm, Justinian's column, which stood in the square called the Augustaion on the south side of Hagia Sophia, was struck by a bolt of lightning and destroyed. The fires that broke out in the surrounding region destroyed 800 houses and cost the lives of 3,000 people.²⁸ On the wood-cut, several buildings are labelled, and the extent of the destroyed area — the *Circulus deuastat<i>onis ful<uris>* — is indicated by a line (fig. 8).

This picture is independent of all other known contemporary representations of Constantinople, and is apparently based on a sketch made on the spot by Schedel's informers. It shows the eastern part of the city in some detail, although the background is fanciful. Some of the buildings are shown with remarkable accuracy, whereas others are depicted using the conventions of the time, so that no conclusions can be drawn about their real appearance. Here too, in order that the buildings should fit into the limited space of the wood-cut, they have been put much closer together than in reality (fig. 9).

Originally, the equestrian statue on top of the column had stood in the Forum of Tauros further to the west, and had represented either Arkadios (395-408), Theodosios I (379-395) or Theodosios II (408-450).²⁹ Under Justinian I (527-565) it was transferred to the Augustaion and was erected under the emperor's own name, perhaps with a new head. In the Late Byzantine period it was often said to be a depiction of Constantine I,³⁰ and this is how it is described in Schedel's text.

28. Other sources in A.M. Schneider, 'Brände in Konstantinopel', *BZ* 41 (1941), 389. The number of victims is extremely high for a fire, and is probably much exaggerated, even taking into account the explosion of the Nea (see below in the commentary on the *Destruct<i>o antiqua*). On the loss of human lives in fires, see also T.F. Madden, 'The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople', *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92), 85-88.

29. See C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, X 7 and XI 13. — On the statue, see R.H.W. Stichel, *Die römische Kaiserstatue am Ausgang der Antike* (Rome 1982) 105-112.

30. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 248 sq.

It is not entirely clear from the text whether the lightning destroyed the statue or the column.³¹ The second possibility is more likely, since the statue apparently no longer existed at the time of the thunderstorm. According to Ottoman sources and the report of the Venetian G.M. Angiolello, who was a prisoner in Constantinople between 1470 and 1482, it had been destroyed on the orders of Mehmet Fatih (1451-1481), because his fortune-tellers considered it to be a talisman of the Christians.³² Considering the general accuracy of the representation of the city in this wood-cut, it is hard to explain why it should show the column in its original form. The presence of the statue has been explained by the assumption that some details of the picture are not contemporary, as for example the cross on one of the towers of Hagia Sophia.³³ But since these towers are actually minarets and had no byzantine predecessors, this is no proof for the use of a pre-conquest source.

The following monuments can be identified from their labels:

S. sophia — Although we are looking at the city from the south-east, with the hippodrome to the left and the Seraglio to the right, the church of Hagia Sophia is shown partly from the south-west (as is clear from the position of the minarets, and from the fact that we can see the southern entrance to the church) and partly from the south-east (as is clear from the position of Justinian's column, which stood to the south of the church, and from the depiction of the stone buttresses, which are apparently those attached to the south-east wall of the church). Below the column there is a wall with windows in

31. *Ubi antiqua columna ymaginem Constantini imperatoris habebat. fulgur et horridus impetus ne dum partem eius deiecit.* — German version: *Dan der tonerslag plitzen vnd vngestüme wetter hat nicht allein einen teil der sewln des pilds des kaiser Constantini ernider geworffen.*

32. J. Raby, 'Mehmet the Conqueror and the Byzantine Rider of the Augustaion', *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllığı* 2 (1987), 141-152; *idem*, 'Mehmet the Conqueror and the Equestrian Statue of the Augustaion', *Illinois Classical Studies* 12.2 (Fall 1987), 305-313. See also C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople*, X 6. Angiolello calls the statue that of St. Augustine as a result of misunderstanding the name of the square: see J. Reinhard, *Édition de J.M. Angiolello*, I (Besançon 1913), 48. On this problem, see also C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen 1959), 180.

33. Stichel, *Kaiserstatue* 111.

its upper part and, to the left of it, a large gate. The windows must belong to the raised portico that led from the main entrance of the imperial palace, the Chalke, to the south-east corner of Hagia Sophia. It was seen by Cristoforo Buondelmonti in 1422.^{33a} The gate may be the Chalke itself (on which see the commentary on the church of St. John Chrysostom below).

The church is considerably simplified in the wood-cut, having been reduced to the main dome (which has a lantern, as in Schedel's first picture) and, below it, two massive, sloping buttresses with lead roofs on which two minarets stand.³⁴ All the walls and vaults in between have been omitted. To the right of the dome, the spire of a third minaret can be seen. After Hagia Sophia's conversion into a mosque in 1453, Mehmet the Conqueror had a minaret erected on the small stair turret south of the window in the west facade, and this was demolished only shortly before Murad III (1574-1595) built the two extant western minarets. This is the minaret we can see to the left of Hagia Sophia, although its roof-top location is not shown very accurately. The minarets at the north- and south-eastern corners were also built by the Conqueror. The south-eastern one, which was wooden, was later replaced with a brick one by Selim II in 1573-1574.³⁵ Schedel's wood-cut provides clear proof of its existence: the right-hand minaret, which is topped by both a cross and a crescent, possesses

33a. See C. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 87-92.

34. The buttresses are those attached to the south-east wall, which were possibly erected under Andronicus II in 1317, but which may be Ottoman. See R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* (New York 1988), 26, 102-105, pls. 24, 26, 129.

35. On the minarets, see W. Emerson-R.L. van Nice, 'Hagia Sophia and the First Minaret Erected After the Conquest of Constantinople', *American Journal of Archaeology* 54 (1950), 28-40, and G. Necipoğlu in: R. Mark-A.Ş. Çakmak (eds.), *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Cambridge 1992) 202-209. In April 1573, Selim II commissioned a brick minaret (presumably the extant one at the south-east corner), and proposed the demolition of a wooden minaret. Emerson-van Nice (33) suggested that the wooden one was the Byzantine bell-tower at the west end of the church. In fact, it seems that the original south-east minaret was of wood. Mehmed Aşık, writing long after the demolition of the wooden minaret by Selim II, states that one minaret at the east end was the work of the Conqueror, the other of Selim II (Necipoğlu, 209). Thus the north-east minaret was built by the Conqueror. Emerson-van Nice ascribed the north-east minaret to Bayezid II on no firm evidence (31, 38).

a roofed gallery with slender posts between the parapet and the roof. This type of construction is still in use until today for wooden minarets.

S onofrius — This label appears on the lower storey of the structure that we have identified above as the passage linking the Chalke with the south-east corner of Hagia Sophia. In fact, it must refer to the dome that emerges from the group of buildings below it. The wood-cutter seems to have called attention to the church of St. Onouphrios because it was the northernmost point of the burned region. Byzantine sources locate this church near the monastery of Alypius, which lay close to the hippodrome.³⁶ Bearing in mind that the buildings in this wood-cut are not all correctly identified (see below on the churches of Sts. John the Baptist, John Chrysostom, and George), hardly anything can be deduced from the picture concerning the church's location, except perhaps that it lay to the north-east of the hippodrome on the side of the old imperial palace. Even this, however, represents an advance in our topographical knowledge.

Joh<ann>is bapt<is>te — Like Hagia Sophia, the church of St. John in the Diipion is also shown as a rotunda with a lantern dome. Its dome is apparently also visible in Schedel's main panorama (see Part I, above). The church was in fact consecrated not to the Baptist but to the Evangelist. It was located near the former *carceres* (starting gates) at the north-eastern end of the hippodrome, although its precise location is uncertain. A menagerie at the north-eastern end of the hippodrome, which existed until the early 17th century, was said by many travellers to have been set up inside it.³⁷ The menagerie is shown fairly accurately in Nasûh al-Matraqî's panorama of around 1530 (*fig. 10*), and in the view of around 1574 in the Freshfield

36. Janin, *La géographie*, 384.

37. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 155; Janin, *ibid.* 264 sq.; J. Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study', *AJA* 101 (1997), 90. The precise location of the menagerie is unclear, but if the dome immediately to the left of Hagia Sophia's dome in Vavassore's panorama is intended to represent the menagerie, then it was, apparently, west of Hagia Sophia, and on the north side of the Mese.

Album,³⁸ both of which are very similar. Schedel's stepped rotunda is clearly very different from the true form of the building. Mango's suggestion (possibly influenced by Schedel's wood-cut)³⁹ that the church of St. John and the menagerie were established in the rotunda of the so-called palace of Lausus⁴⁰ is contradicted by the facts that Nasûh al-Matraqî shows the menagerie to the east of the Firuz Ağa Camii, and that the Freshfield view puts it firmly on the east flank of the hippodrome.⁴¹

Destruct< i>o antiqua — This label does not belong with the hippodrome, which is depicted above it, but with the domed building below it. The ruins of the hippodrome are shown as they were before the columns at the curved end (the sphendone) were dismantled around 1550, and before the race-course was filled up when the mosque of Sultan Ahmet was begun in 1609. We see the free-standing columns of the sphendone, which surrounded the tribunal and partially survived its demolition,⁴² the masonry obelisk, and the Egyptian obelisk, which is separated from its base by four bronze cubes. The 'destroyed old building' — that is the meaning of *Destruct< i>o antiqua* — stands outside the line that indicates the area destroyed by fire. Nevertheless, it is probably the Güngörmez Kilisesi, a Byzantine church used by the Ottomans as a powder magazine, which was struck by lightning and destroyed in the storm of 1490. It should probably be identified with the Nea, the so-called 'New Church' of Basil I (867-886),

38. Nasûh al-Matraqî: W. Denny, 'A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul', *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970), 49-63. Freshfield Album: E.H. Freshfield, 'Some Sketches made in Constantinople in 1574', *BZ* 30 (1929/30), pl. II.

39. C. Mango, *Le Développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985/1990), 59 n. 46.

40. This traditional identification is wrong: see Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausus', 67-89.

41. Bardill, *ibid.* 89-94.

42. On the preservation of the hippodrome in early Ottoman times see P. Gyllius, *De topographia Constantinopoleos* (Lyon 1561), 91 sq. For the reconstruction, see Th. Wiegand, 'Der Hippodrom von Konstantinopel zur Zeit Suleimans d. Gr.', *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 23 (1908), 1-11. — See A. Berger, 'Bemerkungen zum Hippodrom von Konstantinopel', *Boreas* 20 (1997), 5-15.

which is called *S. Luca* in the Vavassore panorama.⁴³ The site of the Nea has been much disputed, but it is clear from our sources that it lay close to the later part of the imperial palace on the south-eastern side of the sphendone. Although the perspective of Schedel's view is distorted, the domed building is in a location appropriate for it to be identified with the Nea. It will become clear that the Nea, despite being shown outside the burned area, must have been inside it.

S. joh<ann>es Crisostoma — The church labelled thus is without doubt St. Eirene, since it lies inside the Seraglio walls in the immediate vicinity of the Imperial Gate. There are two possible explanations for this. Perhaps the tradition, first attested only in the eighteenth century, that St. John Chrysostom had been buried in St. Eirene, already existed.⁴⁴ The second possibility is that the label in fact belongs to a church that has been omitted from the wood-cut — probably the church of a convent where the head of St. John Chrysostom was kept in the Late Byzantine period. A Russian pilgrim indicates that this convent was located between the monasteries of Philanthropos and Panachrantos, another places it close to the Lazaros monastery,⁴⁵ and an Armenian pilgrim locates it between the monasteries of Lazaros and Philanthropos.⁴⁶ The name is given in Russian as *Perec*, and in Armenian as *Taprace*; this suggests that the convent *ta Patrikias* is meant,⁴⁷ which, according to Byzantine sources, lay to the east of Hagia Sophia.⁴⁸ In the Ottoman period, the church of Christ of the Chalke (which was demolished only in 1804) was

43. As suggested by Mango, *The Brazen House*, 180; Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausus', 93. The sources about the destruction of the Güngörmez Kilisesi are collected by İ.H. Konyalı, *İstanbul Sarayları* (İstanbul 1943), 18 sq.

44. C.C. de Carbognano in V. Ruggieri (ed.), *Descrizione topographica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli arricchita di figure* (Rome 1992), 28 sq.; see Bardill, *ibid.* 93.

45. G.P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19 (Washington D.C. 1984), 37, 183, 374 sq.

46. S. Brock, 'A Medieval Armenian Pilgrim's Description of Constantinople', *Revue des études arméniennes* N. S. 4 (1967), 81-102.

47. Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, and Brock *ibid.*

48. It is probably also the convent of Ouaranas mentioned by other sources, which was founded originally in the early fifth century. On this, see: Janin, *La géographie*, 158, 184 sq., 217; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 422 sq.

sometimes wrongly called that of John Chrysostom.⁴⁹ In the Schedel view, both churches in question should be visible close to the Seraglio walls and in front of Hagia Sophia. Perhaps one of them existed on the original drawing and was omitted in the wood-cut, with the result that the label was wrongly attached to St. Eirene.

Domus mag<ni> turci — Of the Sultan's palace on the Seraglio point, which was later called the Topkapı Sarayı,⁵⁰ only the most important parts are represented, and in a very compressed form. We see the Seraglio fortification wall, the Imperial Gate right next to the Hagia Sophia,⁵¹ the gate to the second court with its two spires, the main building at the end of this court, and the tower adjoining the audience hall. In reality, the first (outer) court of the palace, which is shown flanked by colonnades, is located immediately behind the Imperial Gate in the Seraglio wall. In Schedel's view, it has been moved further east, together with St. Eirene, in order to fill the picture more uniformly. The courts are shown in a very contracted way: the distance between the Seraglio wall and the right hand side of the picture would correspond to about 500 m in reality. Although both gates are shown quite accurately, the first court has no such colonnade; in fact it is flanked on its south side by subordinate buildings. Perhaps the colonnades are supposed to be those around the second court, although they have been shifted to the first.

Viridarium — The garden of Topkapı Sarayı.

S. geor<g>ius — The label on Schedel's wood-cut refers to the monastery of St. George of the Mangana, which was founded in the eleventh century, survived until the Ottoman conquest, and which was for a time inhabited by dervishes before finally being given up when the Seraglio was built. However, we can be certain that this

49. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 158-162.

50. On this, see G. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, Power. Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York 1991).

51. It is shown in its original form with an upper storey, which was demolished only in 1867. See Necipoğlu, *ibid.* 37-40.

monastery was located some 600 m north of where Schedel shows it, since its remains have been excavated.⁵² An old Byzantine church did indeed exist just inside the Seraglio walls and close to the sea shore. It was used by the Ottomans as an aviary until the beginning of the 18th century, and Armenian authors of the time believed it to be a church of John the Baptist.⁵³ Byzantine sources, however, mention no church of this dedication in the area. The church was noticed by modern scholarship only recently,⁵⁴ and is not yet identified. It could have been either the church of the monastery of Lazaros, which was completed in 899 and still existed in the 15th century, or the church of St. Michael of the monastery *ta Tzerou*, an early Byzantine building that is mentioned until the late 12th century.⁵⁵ The monastery *ta Tzerou* was possibly also named after the relics of Kyros and John that were kept there,⁵⁶ a fact that may explain why the Armenians thought it to be a church of St. John the Baptist. Schedel's church, however, cannot be identified with the famous monastery of the Theotokos Hodegetria, since that lay further south, outside the Seraglio walls.⁵⁷

Stabula cameloru<m>, *Stabula equoru<m>* — These stables for camels and horses are the large ones that belonged to the Seraglio. They lay outside the palace wall and gave the name Ahırkapı (gate of stables) to the portal in the sea-wall to the south. They can also be seen in the drawing of Nasûh al-Matraqî, made around 1530, where they have exactly the same shape: a rectangular building with a central courtyard (fig. 10).

52. R. Demangel-E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manges* (Paris 1939), 19-37.

53. Eremya Çelebi Kömürçüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi — XVIII asırda İstanbul*, translated by H.D. Andreasyan (İstanbul 1952), 5; G. İnciciyan, *XVIII asırda İstanbul*, translated by H.D. Andreasyan (İstanbul 1976), 58.

54. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, Power*, 204 and plates 22b, 31b.

55. Janin, *La géographie*, 298-300; 66, 340, 345 sq. On its location, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 381-388.

56. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 388; but cf. A. Berger, 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend', 349.

57. Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 376-378.

The structures in the left part of the foreground bear no inscriptions. There is an opening between two towers of the sea wall in which stands a building consisting of four pillars supporting arches and a square platform, on top of which there is a small tower with a pyramidal roof. It resembles a small mosque of the type found in the inner courts of Seljuk hans. In front of this building, and behind it, are partly ruined walls. At the back of the opening is another wall, neither end of which appears to be connected to another structure. To the left of the opening, and behind the sea wall, there is a row of five boat-houses that adjoin each other.

These boat-houses belong to the Kumkapı arsenal, which was built in the Byzantine period and which served as the main base of the Ottoman fleet until the great docks of Kasımpaşa were founded in 1513. The arsenal was located in the silted-up eastern part of the former harbour of Sophia. It was surrounded by walls and connected to the Kadirga Limanı (galley harbour), which was what remained of the harbour following its reduction in size in the ninth century.⁵⁸ The five boat-houses are also visible on the so-called Vavassore panorama, which shows their gable-ends facing west, towards the gate of the arsenal (*fig. 4*). The building in the opening in the wall may be a confused rendering of the main gate to the arsenal, which, as we can see from Vavassore's panorama, had an upper storey with a pyramidal roof. Schedel's 'gate' has, however, been moved to the right-hand side of the boat-houses, and the recess in Schedel's walls may somehow be related to the bay of the Kadirga Limanı itself.

If the arsenal was indeed included in the destroyed area, as Schedel's view seems to suggest, then the whole region bounded to the east by the new Seraglio walls, to the north by St. Onouphrios, Hagia Sophia, and the hippodrome, and to the west by the arsenal, was affected by the fire. This suggests that the building labelled *destruct<i>o antiqua* (identified above as the Nea church), was in fact within the *circulus deuastat<i>onis*. However, some sturdy buildings of stone or brick — such as the stables, which survived to be drawn by Nasûh al-Matraqî, and the church of Sts. Sergios and

58. See Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 37-40.

Bacchos, which still stands today under the name of Küçük Ayasofya — clearly did not suffer as badly as the Nea church. The extent of the area destroyed was therefore considerably larger than in the great fire that devastated the same region in 1912.⁵⁹

All this demonstrates that the illustration of the 1490 thunderstorm in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* is, unlike the panorama of Constantinople, an independent historical source that helps to solve some topographical problems of early Ottoman Constantinople.

III

Another wood-cut in Schedel's world chronicle appears five times as a representation of Trier, Padova, Marseille, Metz, and Nicaea, although it has nothing in common with the actual appearance of these towns (*fig. 11*).⁶⁰ Evidently, most of the elements in it were taken from a representation of Constantinople.

The domed church on the right-hand side closely resembles the cathedral of Florence as shown on fol. 87^r of Schedel's work. Note, however, the crescent on its lantern, which is not at all appropriate in any of the towns mentioned above. The massive tower on the left side of the church may have been inspired by the minarets of Hagia Sophia in Schedel's second wood-cut of Constantinople; the column with the horned statue on top was probably based on Justinian's column, although it appears on the wrong side of the building (if we assume we are looking from the east). The horned statue has no parallels in Schedel's wood-cuts and other contemporary town pictures. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, however, Constantinople was represented by an enthroned Tyche, whose laurel wreath had been reduced to two horn-like objects, and by Constantine on his column, naked and with a spear in his hand (*fig. 12*).⁶¹ The statue on Schedel's wood-cut can

59. On this fire, see E. Mamboury-T. Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1934), preface; A.M. Schneider, 'Brände', 401.

60. On fol. 23^r, 44^v, 61^r, 110^r, and 194^v.

61. On the history of this map, see K. Miller, *Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingersche Tafel* (Ravensburg 1887), 6-14; E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz 1976), 9 sq.; L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rimini 1983), 14, 87 sq.

easily be imagined as a combination of these. This would suggest that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was known to the scholarly community for quite some time before we first hear about it in 1507.⁶²

The shape of this imaginary town, and its position on the sea-shore are both derived from views of Constantinople, although two partially visible towers in the foreground suggest that a town on a river is meant. One of these towers stands on the extreme left and is connected to the walls by a vaulted bridge; the other one can be seen in the foreground in front of a draw-bridge that is attached to a gate. If the vaulted bridge on the left-hand side corresponds to the westernmost gate on Schedel's panorama of Constantinople, the round tower behind it is that of Yedikule, and the basilica to the right of it with the belfry is the church of the Stoudios monastery. It is unclear whether the draw-bridge in the foreground is connected with the draw-bridge in Foresti's 1486 view, which was inspired by the mole of the Blanga harbour. A river is shown running right through the city from the landward walls to the sea. It emerges through the gate in the foreground on the right-hand side. This is clearly the same as the gate through which the Lykos flows into the sea in Schedel's panorama. We may also note the small rotunda with dome, located in front of Hagia Sophia. This can be identified with the building that appears above the Nea church in Schedel's main panorama. Perhaps it is also to be identified with the church of St. John the Baptist, which is shown in Schedel's wood-cut of the storm in 1490 (see Parts I and II above).

The wood-cut is clearly based largely on a panorama of Constantinople, but not the main one treated in the first part of this article. Instead, it goes back to an older source, possibly the same one that combined elements from Buondelmonti and the Vavassore prototype, and on which Schedel's main panorama was based. The horned statue, on the other hand, is an indication that a variety of sources was used for the illustrations in Schedel's *World Chronicle*.

Berlin and Oxford

62. Konrad Celtis may already have been in possession of the map when he stayed in Nuremberg in 1491, hence at the time Schedel's chronicle was being produced there. In 1493, after the appearance of the Latin version of the chronicle, Celtis was contracted to improve Schedel's chronicle. This work, however, was never undertaken. See R. Newald, *Probleme und Gestalten des deutschen Humanismus* (Berlin 1963), 194.

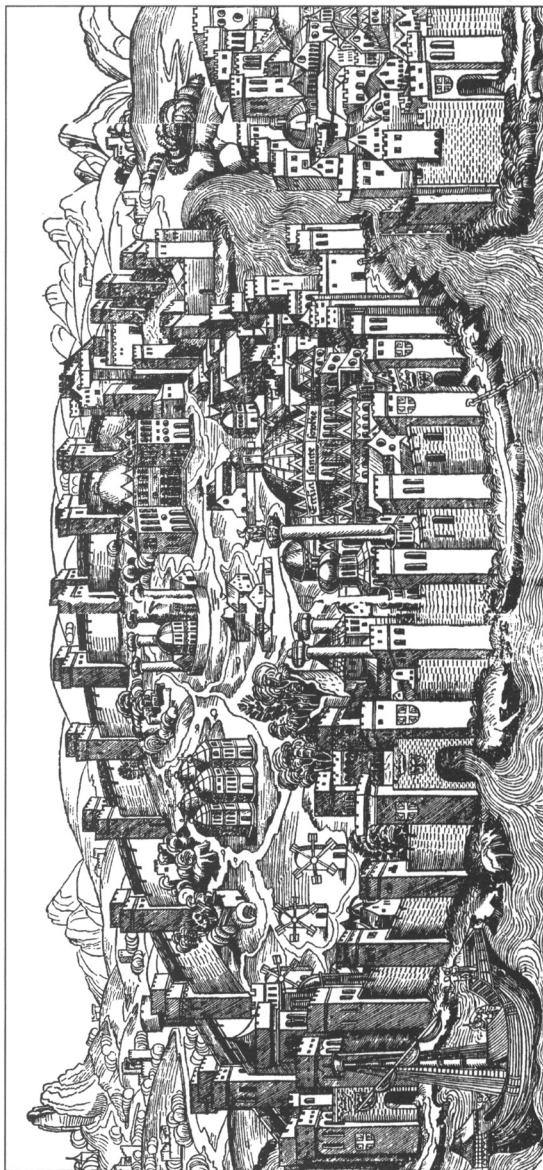


Fig. 1

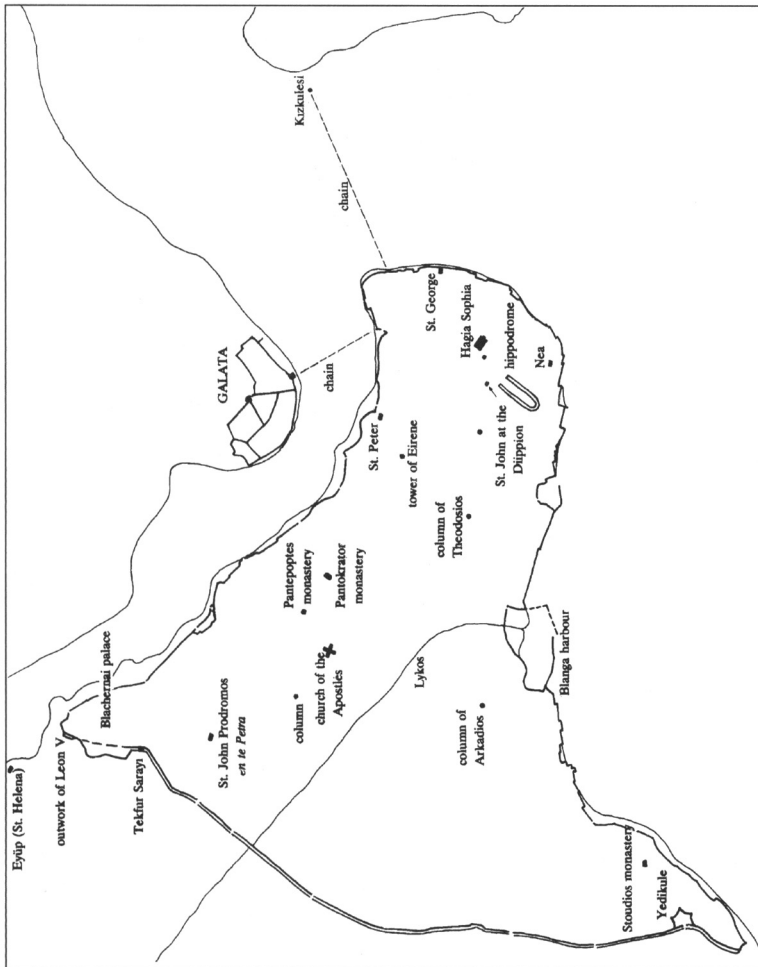


Fig. 2

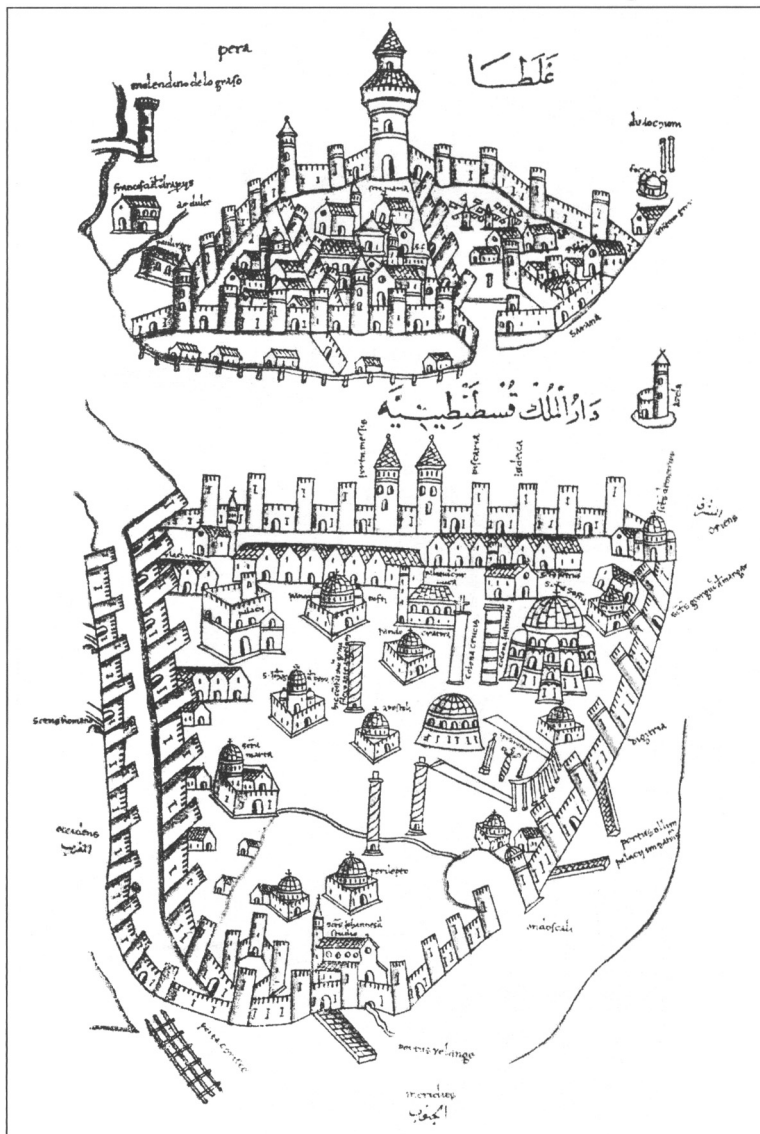


Fig. 3

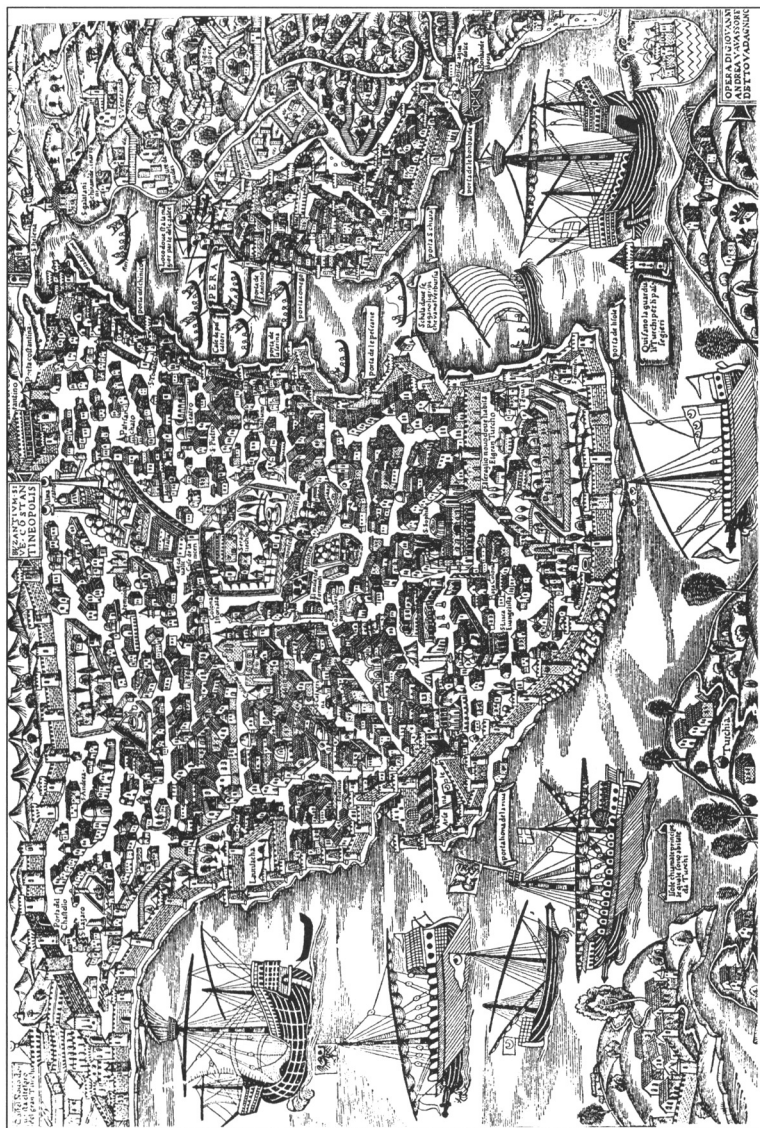


Fig. 4

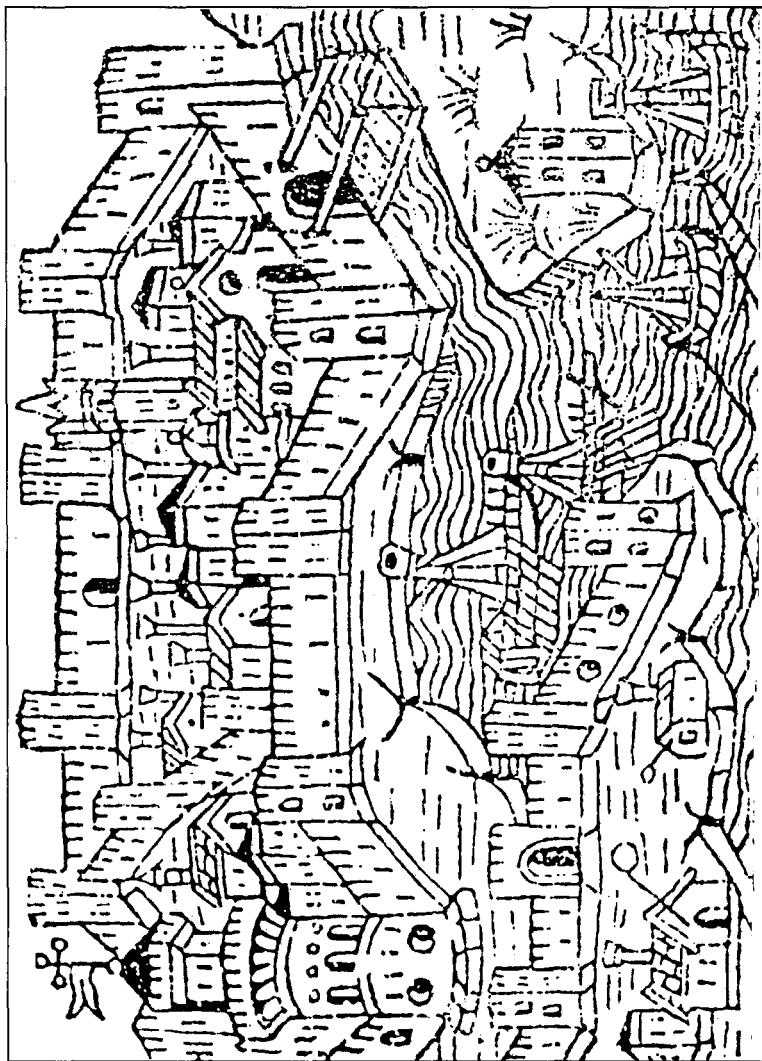


Fig. 5

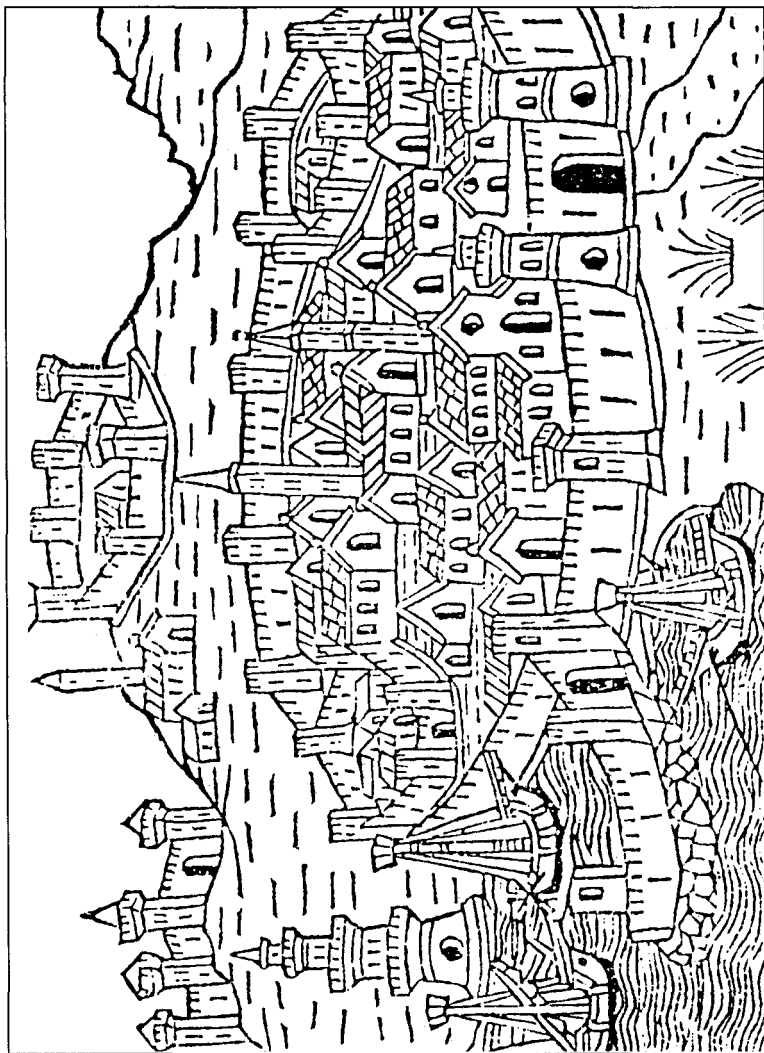


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

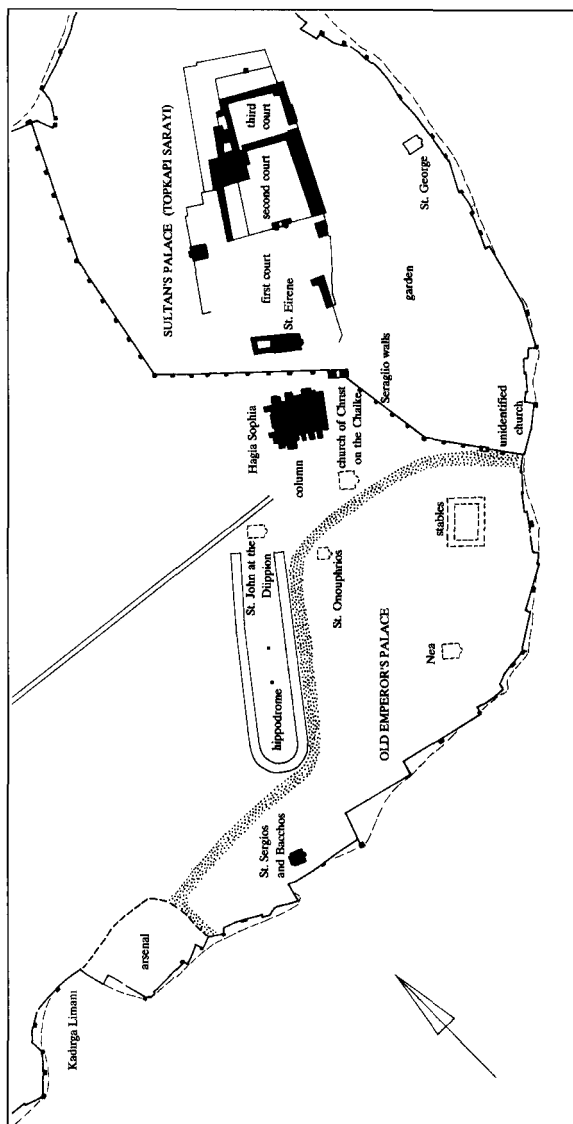


Fig. 9

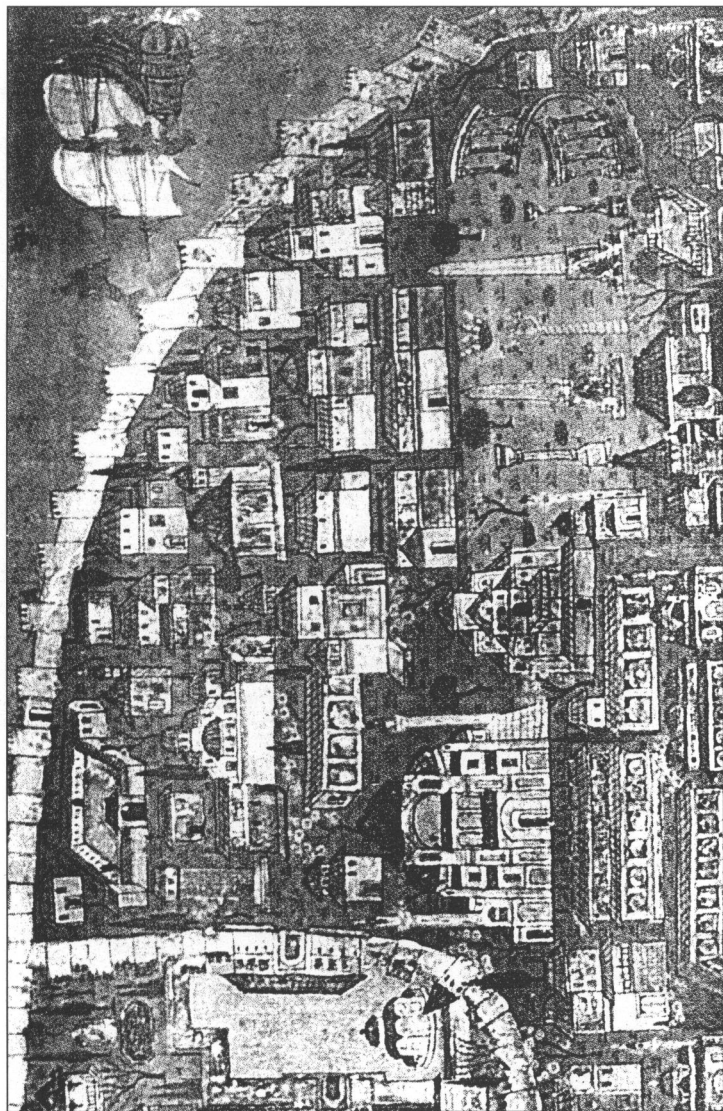


Fig. 10

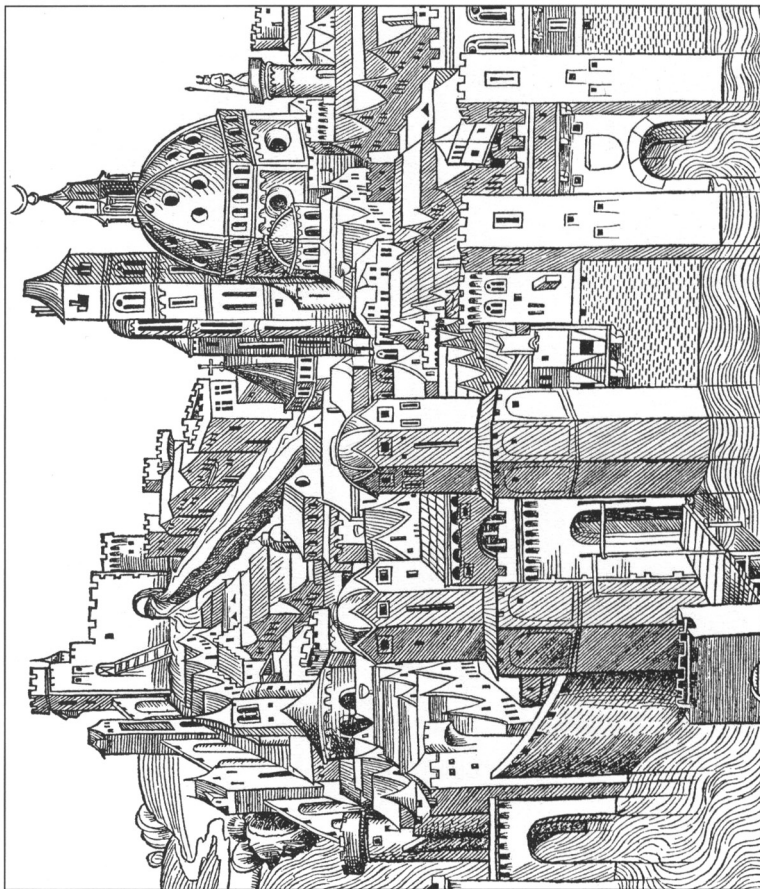


Fig. 11

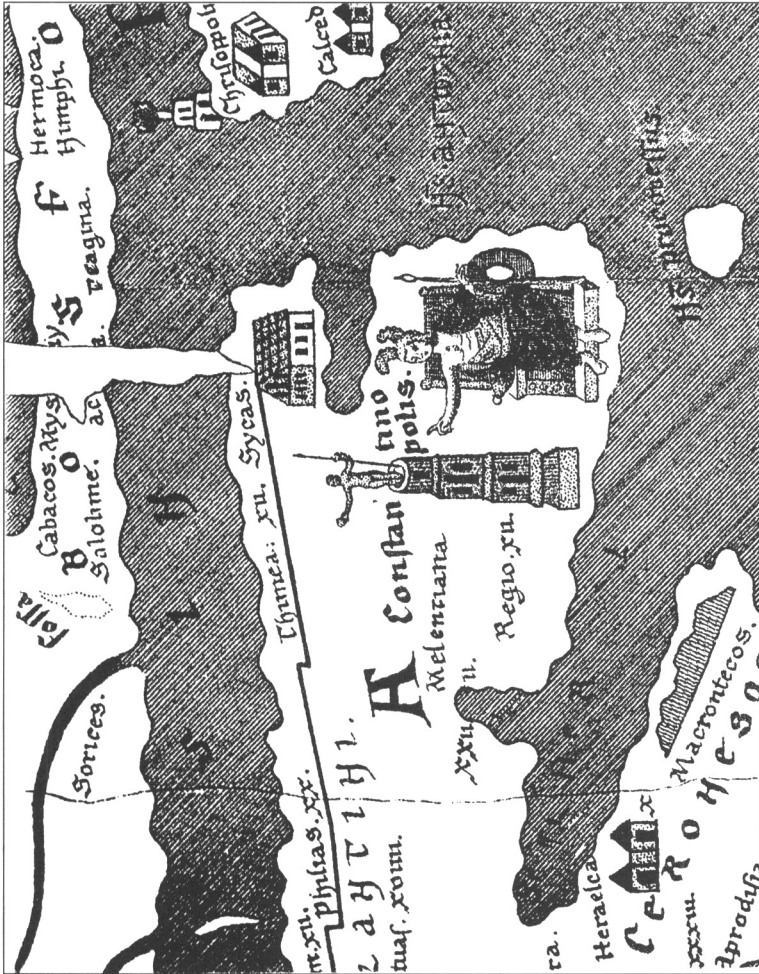


Fig. 12

The shape of the market: mapping the Book of the Eparch^{*}

THOMAS THOMOV and ANNETTA ILIEVA[†]

The perspective of this paper could certainly be judged as somewhat narrow by urban historians of ninth-century Constantinople. For the sake of clarity we should like to stress from the very start that it is the Bulgarian aspect of the problem that interests us. Whatever the answer to the question whether Byzantium was 'dead or alive' at the time, for Boris (who forced Bulgaria into Christendom), for his son Symeon (who became Bulgaria's first tsar), and for Symeon's son Peter (who took the first Byzantine princess to Veliki Preslav), the empire was certainly very much alive. These three rulers of the first Bulgarian kingdom lived at the time when the *renovatio* encapsulated by Theoktistos and Theodora in A.D. 843 was taken over by the usurper Basil; when, subsequently, the ascending *genos* of the *dysgenes* killer recreated — and at the same time distanced itself from — the broader framework of the Justinianic age; and, finally, when *eugenes* usurpers triumphed within the already established 'Macedonian' universe. Among the three of them, however, only Symeon had the rare opportunity of living in Constantinople, for fourteen years or so — between 872/4 and 887 — and in its First Region at that. Symeon became no Theodoric but what was it that he saw which made him 'half-Greek' and could have moulded or influenced some of his policies that led to the establishment of a new empire in the Balkans?

^{*}We are indebted to Dr. Archibald Dunn who in our absence read the text of this communication at the 30th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies 'Dead or Alive? The Byzantine World in the Ninth Century' (The University of Birmingham, 23-26 March 1996). We should also like to thank Professor Cyril Mango for reading and commenting on its annotated version. A special word of thanks is due to Peter Baird for helping us produce a glossy English text.

In terms of visualised space, the post-Iconoclast *renovatio* in the capital was developing in the somewhat shabby open-air museum which Constantinople still was. Symeon came to the Byzantine capital just a few years after the earthquake of 869, which had caused great damage to the city. Nonetheless, the concentration of cultural landmarks was slowly acquiring new dimensions: the Emperor's Great Palace was absorbing and transforming the principal characteristics of the open-space Late Antique culture, while the church building gradually emerged as ranking first among all other previous 'receptacles' for assembling and holding the people. Basil I's building activity in the capital — rivalling Justinian's in the number of churches repaired or raised from the ground, although not in scope and essence — was crucial in this development.¹ That the *renovatio* was ecclesiastical in substance, and at the same time displayed the accumulation of both the material and spiritual wealth of the Emperor's abode and city, certainly did not escape Symeon's notice.

It is to the 'material side' to which we now turn our attention — to the world, or, the 'shape of the market'. We should like to acknowledge the fact that our inspiration has been nourished by many sources: Marlia Mundell Mango, we have been told, is continuing her work on 'the commercial map of Constantinople' — initially, a paper prepared for the cancelled Istanbul Symposium of 1994; Jonathan Shepard has recently put the so-called 'commercial war' of Symeon of Bulgaria in the context of the 'marked preference' of 'other "barbarians" for trading in Constantinople rather than in Byzantine provincial towns';² our own work on the *Atlas of Byzantium* urged us to go a little further than Johannes Koder in visualising Constantinople's market world as it emerges from the *Book of the*

1. From a somewhat different perspective see most recently, P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Etudes sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris 1996) 49 (=Travaux et Mémoires de Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et de Civilisation de Byzance. Collège de France. Monographie 9).

2. J. Shepard, 'Constantinople — Gateway to the North: The Russians', in Cyril Mango, Gilbert Dagron (eds.), *Constantinople and its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993* (Aldershot 1995) 254-5 (=Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications 3) (hereafter *Constantinople and its Hinterland*).

Eparch.³ But here again, we have our particular angle: it is impossible — and unnecessary for our purposes — to deal with all problems of Constantinople's commercial topography. Instead, we shall focus our attention on some of its elements that desacralised — and quite actively at times — the newly emerging image of the great city. On Symeon, who came to Constantinople to take holy orders and prepare himself for the highest service in the Bulgarian church but upon his return was forced back into the world and had to ascend the throne of a secular ruler, those elements certainly had some effect.

A brief note on our main source may be needed here. For us it is not particularly important whether the *Book of the Eparch* was officially circulated or not: with all his qualifications Koder himself speaks of the *Veröffentlichung* of 912.⁴ What matters more is the link between the pre-history of the *Book* and the appearance of the fourth title of Photios's *Eisagoge*, dealing with the office of the Eparch.⁵ Symeon was therefore a witness of both that side of his teacher's activity — the law book was promulgated in 885/886 — and the process of collecting the evidence for what was subsequently to become the *Book of the Eparch*. It is now certain that the latter remained unfinished, and anyone wishing to catalogue and comment on Constantinople's guilds and trading activity at the turn of the ninth century has to draw upon a wide variety of other 'contemporary' sources.⁶ Where possible, we have tried to narrow the chronological scope of our references within the framework of the hundred years or so between the 'permanent' Bulgaro-Byzantine peace of 863 — resulting in the Christianisation of Bulgaria — and John Tzimiskes's triumphal entry into Constantinople in 971 — riding on a white horse behind a wagon

3. See Fig. 1 which is a photocopy of his Abbildung #11 on p. 148 of *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisens*, CFHB 33 (Vienna 1991) (hereafter *EB*).

4. *EB*, Prolegomena 31-2.

5. *Ibidem* 21-3. See also the reviews by K.-P. Matschke in *BZ* 86-7 (1993-4) 145 and by I.P. Medvedev in *VV* 54 (1993) 184. It is worth repeating here the well-known fact that Photios also wrote the *Eisagoge*'s titles on the emperor and the patriarch.

6. *EB*, Prolegomena, p. 40; also Medvedev in *VV* 54 (1993) 185.

carrying the icon of the Virgin and the Bulgarian imperial regalia.⁷ However, a major point must be emphasised: we have not followed the 'order' of the entries as they appear in the *Book of the Eparch*. Instead, we have followed the triumphal route from the Golden Gate, down the Mese, and into Hagia Sophia: as a matter of fact the chronological frames just mentioned mark the two opposite extremes of Bulgaria's entry into the newly emerging Byzantine Commonwealth.⁸ Besides, while Leo the Deacon presents the parade of 971 as taking place in the Mese, he states that the one of the following year — to celebrate the conquest of Nisibis — triumphed '*dia tes agoras*'.⁹ The beginning of this overlap of the renovated commercial and Christianised ritual spaces is ascribed by the *Vita Basilii* to its protagonist: the Emperor built St. Mary of the Forum 'because he noticed that the artisans who made their living at the market had neither a place of spiritual refuge nor shelter from bad weather'.¹⁰ That Basil himself honoured the shrine during a victory parade is

7. One of these sources is to be singled out here due to its controversial dating. While J. Wortley and L. Rydén date the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool* to various decades of the first half and the middle of the tenth century C. Mango believes that the text was produced 'approximately between the years 680 and 695'. 'The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered', in C. Mango, *Byzantium and its Image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and its Heritage* (London: Var. repr. 1984), no. VIII 309, 310. On the tenth century sources, including the *Book of the Eparch*, see most recently Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 13-14.

8. While M. McCormick has given preference to Skylitzes's version that the ritual divestiture of the captive Boris II of Bulgaria was enacted in the Forum of Constantine — against that of Leo the Deacon, placing it in the Great Palace (*Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* [Cambridge 1986] 174 n. 172 with references), recently G. Prinzing has reconsidered the evidence and suggested a possibility for a different source that Skylitzes might have used. He also paid greater attention to the deposition of the more beautiful and more valuable crown of Boris in Hagia Sophia: 'Das Bamberger Gunthertuch in neuer Sicht', *BSI* 54/1 (1993) 226-7.

9. Leo the Deacon, *History* 10.2 (Bonn 1828) 163 line 6. See M. McCormick for a comment on that new 'manner in which contemporaries perceived' 'the physical location of the ceremony': *Eternal Victory*, 185-6. In a note to us, however, C. Mango expressed his belief that Leo's expression here 'is simply a bit of classicism and does not refer to the market as such'.

10. Theoph. cont., 339 lines 1-6. English transl. by C. Mango, 'The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New York 1986) 131.

evident from the description of his grandson's *On Imperial Expeditions* — based on a source dating from Leo VI's intermediate reign.¹¹ Significantly, the triumph of Basil and his son and co-emperor Constantine of A.D. 879 to honour the victory over the Paulicians was witnessed — amongst the myriad of other city-dwellers — by Symeon himself.

When the future Bulgarian tsar first arrived in Constantinople in the early 870s, he must have entered the city through the Gate of Charisios (Edirne kapı). As one may infer from Fig. 2, few things in the 'market scenery', if any, could have impressed the young Bulgarian before he reached the Philadelphion (Lâleli). To start with, the gardens between the Theodosian and the Constantinian walls, as well as the horticulture and farming near the Church of the Apostles, did not differ much from what he had just seen while approaching the city.¹² Later, when already living in Constantinople, Symeon would get accustomed to the farmers from the immediate vicinity (and from those gardens between the walls?) who would flock to the city on market days to sell their fresh produce.¹³ It seems that many of the shepherds from the surrounding Thracian villages would do the same with their sheep, expecting to sell them at the Strategion (Sirkeci).¹⁴

Few things would have been spotted along the southwestern branch of the Mese as well. At the Amastrion (south of the Murat Pasa Camii), one could meet the *bothroi* examining the horses and the donkeys sold there, and also buy oneself some freshly baked bread from the ovens installed in the square's hippodrome or theatre during

11. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, 2 vols., I (Bonn 1829-30) 502 lines 2f.

12. Johannes Koder, 'Fresh Vegetables for the Capital', in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, 52-3. Indeed, some time ago the Theodosian walls still stood in open countryside. Only in the last forty years have they been swallowed by the megalopolis. We owe this remark to Peter Baird.

13. See Fig. 2 for one of the 'venues' for fruits in the Artopoleia: *Vita S. Andreae Sali*, PG 111 cols. 712B & C, 713D.

14. *EB* 15.4. See also Johannes Koder, 'Epangelmata schetika me ton epistismo sto Eparchiko Biblio', in *Praktika tou A' Diethnous symposiou He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio: Tomes kai synecheies sten hellenistike kai rhomaike paradose*, 15-17 Septembriou 1988 (Athens 1989) 368.

the reign of the Empress Irene (797-802).¹⁵ There was no station at the Amastrion during the triumph of Basil and Constantine in 879, but it is listed in the *De ceremoniis* for processions from St. Mokios (near the cistern of the same name?) and Pege.¹⁶

The real market world of Constantinople stretched for some 1,850 m from the Capitol to the Milion (roughly today's Ordu Caddesi and Divan Yolu) and branched out to the north and the south.¹⁷ Along that route the first station of the triumph of A.D. 879 was the Forum Tauri (modern Beyazit) where bulls had been sold since the time of Constantine V, and the pig merchants were active. Here the *probatemporoi* could sell lambs between Easter and Pentecost.¹⁸ Here one could also see local fishermen displaying their catch.¹⁹ However, the Fish Market where the large vaulted shops of the *ichthyopratai* stood was much further and to the north — beside the Golden Horn piers and, inside, around the so-called Basilike Gate.²⁰

Next was spread out the Bread Market and the Bakers' Quarter, the Artopoleia (somewhat south of Kapalıçarşı).²¹ It was 'known for its porticos, its column with a cross, and an arch' and a mandatory station in all processions.²² Given the importance of bread in the Byzantine diet, this was surely a noteworthy place in the capital,

15. *EB*, 21.3 & 8 (on the *bothroi*); *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, trans. A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden 1984) 187, 222, 225 (on the bakeries, with references). See also C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe-VIIe siècles)* (Paris 1992) 57.

16. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 218 with references.

17. On the distance see Mango, 'Development', 123.

18. *EB*, 16.2 & 3 (on the *choiremporoi*) and 15.5 (on the *probatemporoi*). See also Mango, *Développement* 57.

19. M. Ia. Sjuzumov, *Vizantijskaya kniga Eparcha* (Moscow 1962) 232 with references (in Russian).

20. *EB*, 17.1. On this location see G. Dagron, 'Poissons, pêcheurs et poissonniers de Constantinople', in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, 70. He also assumes that the Fish Market was identical with the late byzantine Basilike Market, but is hesitant about the identification of the Basilike Gate either as Ispigas/Cubalıkapi and Ayasmakapi or as Perama/Balıkpazarı kapısı. See below n. 24.

21. In a metropolis the size of Constantinople it was quite probable that was not the sole and even the central Bread Market. At the same time, it seems that the one just mentioned was very popular and its name gradually acquired the meaning of a byword. See A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn 1988) 312-3.

22. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 215, 219; Mango, *Développement* 31, 55.

although it is uncertain whether the breadmakers and the bread sellers were identical. At the Artopoleia the visitor could also buy himself some wine, fish, cheese and possibly honey.²³ One wonders whether the Bulgarian and other *ethnê* importing honey had their shops in the same place, since the Byzantines knew no sugar at that time, and used honey with their bread instead.²⁴

The 'barbarians' were also prominent in the slave trade as is evident from the Russo-Byzantine treaties of 911 and 944; one of the places where slaves were sold was at the Tetrapylon, in the immediate vicinity of the Artopoleia.²⁵ The *ethnê* had their place in the linen trade as well.²⁶ A 'certificate of title' for an *ergasterion othoniopratikon*, dated June 959, locates it in the portico of the Forum.²⁷ Another, of

23. Vita S. Andreae Sali, cols. 648C, 657B, 708C.

24. EB, 9.6 on the Bulgarian importers of honey. It should be noted that from the seventh century onward the ratio of meat, lamb in particular, in the Byzantine diet increased at the expense of bread. But while until recently the Meat Market was thought to have been generally in the same area — to the south of the Forum Tauri, in the vicinity of the Armenian Patriarchate at Kumkapı (on which see R. Janin (*Constantinople byzantin* [Paris 1964] 379-80 with references) — now it seems that the so-called *stoa tou Makellou* behind the Forum of Constantine and the *Leomakellon* were not identical. The first mention of a *Lemomacellium* — possibly later corrupted to *Leomacellium* — is in the *Chronicon Paschale*, 284-628 AD (Liverpool 1989) 57-6 n. 186, referring to the slaughter of many Goths in AD400, but no location is given. A correction of Janin's thesis now in A. Berger 'Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45 (1995) 152-55 and the map on p. 151; *idem*, *Untersuchungen*, 515-6 and the map on p. 197. As a result of his etymological research concerning the word *macellum* he locates the *Leomakellon* besides the Golden Horn, to the northwest and quite near to the Basilike Gate (Unkapani kapı, called also porta platea or piazza); whence, he assumes that the *Leomakellon* was identical with the Basilike Market (i.e. the Fish Market). In other words, it seems clear that *meat* and *fish* were sold in one and the same place. In support of this idea, it is interesting to note that in Harpers' *Latin Dictionary* 1091 (Revised, enlarged and great parts rewritten by Ch. Lewis and Ch. Short [New York 1879]) *macellum* has the meaning of 'meat-market, provision-market (where meat, fish and vegetables were sold)'. The same explanation may be found in *Latin-Bulgarian Dictionary* 358 (ed. by M. Voinov, A. Milev [Sofia 1937]).

25. On that side of the treaties see Shepard, 'Constantinople — Gateway to the North', 255. On the location see Mango, 'Development', 130 and *Développement* 57; also *Patria* II.64 in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger, 2 vols., II (Leipzig 1901-07) 185 lines 3-14.

26. EB, 9.6.

27. Nicolas Oikonomidès, 'Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.: prix, loyers, imposition (Cod. Patmiacus 171)', *DOP* 16 (1972) 345 line 6.

April 957, speaks of an *ergasterion sklabin[ik?]arion* (in the same place?) and the *Book of the Eparch* mentions *sthlabinika phakiolia* (hats and kerchiefs?).²⁸ Could Symeon have met some of his compatriots selling their goods in the Forum? . . .

The circular square of Constantine was certainly a central climax of any triumphal or other procession, and it was also emerging as the hub of the city's commercial life.²⁹ The bazaar of horses' bridles, the Chalinaria, was in the northern outer portico of the square.³⁰ The shops of the *keroularioi*, the *prandiopratai*, the *metaxopratai*, and the furriers were located there; for the first and the last of these we even know that they were in the southern inner portico, in the vicinity of the Virgin-in-the-Forum.³¹ While the candlemakers had, understandably, many other shops — particularly in Hagia Sophia — it is significant that so many trades found their place in the Forum.³² Perhaps Cyril Mango is right to suggest that the church of St. Mary there was not a new foundation at all since it is more logical to believe that it had existed from an earlier period and evidently attracted 'the artisans' to seek protection in its vicinity, rather than to trust the inverted statement of the *Vita Basilii*.³³ On the other hand, it might be of some importance to emphasise that in 879 Basil and Constantine rode on *horseback* and in their military uniforms until they reached the Forum, where they dismounted and were met by Patriarch Photios outside the Virgin's shrine. Then, already in the shrine, the princes changed from their uniforms into the purple *divitisia*.³⁴ Could it be

28. *Ibidem*, 347 line 17; *EB*, 8.1.

29. Mango ('Development', 130) calls it Constantinople's 'main retail centre'.

30. C. Mango, 'Constantine's Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine', in *idem*, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, Var. 1993), no. IV, 106 n. 2.

31. Theoph. Cont, 420 lines 13-6; *EB*, 6.13. See also Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols., I (Leipzig 1883-5) 487-8, esp. 487 lines 31-2. Inferring from the *EB*, 5.2 and Oikonomidès, *op. cit.*, 346 lines 23-4, could we suggest that the *Embolos* mentioned in the *Book* is that of the Forum?

32. It was even possible to purchase liturgical vessels there as is evident from the anonymous narrative on the 'good deeds' of the emperor Theophilos, a text compiled under Basil I: W. Regel, ed., *Analecta Byzantino-Russica* (St. Petersburg 1891) 42 lines 13-8 and p. xiii on the dating.

33. See above, p. 108; Mango, 'The Life of St. Andrew the Fool', 302-3; *idem*, 'Development', 131.

34. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 215-6.

that the arrangement of the trades along the Upper and Lower Middle Avenue, and particularly in the Forum, had something to do with the transformation of an *adventus* from a military into a civilian Christian ceremony? It is indeed hard to say, given the paucity of our topographical data.

From the Forum down to Hagia Sophia, the world of the market was represented by the *argyropratai* and the *myrepsoi*.³⁵ It has been suggested that the *myrepsoi* were involved in the Smyrnion — the Spice Market located to the north.³⁶ As for their arrangement from Chalke to the Milion and its significance for the senses, human and divine, the *Book of the Eparch* is unequivocal.³⁷

On two trades — glass and tile making and selling — which we can suppose have certainly impressed Symeon given the archaeological evidence from early medieval Bulgaria, the *Book of the Eparch* is silent. However, recent archaeological discoveries in Istanbul coupled with newly published written sources have enabled scholars to locate a ninth-tenth century glass workshop near the Strategion.³⁸ Wasters excavated at the Kalenderhane Camii (The Virgin Kyriotissa Church) still await publication but it is evident that there was ‘concentration of tiles in Constantinople and its immediate hinterland’ and that ‘their

35. We have tried our best to solve the puzzle regarding the location of the *argyroprateia portico* — in the north or in the south section of the colonnaded Regia (basic texts: *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn 1832) 623 lines 6-9 and Theophanes, 184 lines 14-7). Since the latter mention it in the singular, obviously it was a single portico. See G. Downey, ‘Imperial Building Records in Malallas’, *BZ* 38/1 (1938), 308. But while the *Paschal Chronicle* seems to imply that during the Nika riot the flames engulfed buildings located on both sides of the Mese, the portico of the silversmiths’ shops included, Theophanes’s text clearly speaks of the portico and the palace of Lausus as if they were in a row. The controversy has found its place in Abbildung no. 263 (on p. 232) and on p. 269 of W. Müller-Wiener’s magisterial *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion — Konstantinoupolis — Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1977).

36. See Fig. 2; also Johannes Koder, ‘Die Drogisten und ihre Waren im Eparchenbuch (EB, 10.1)’, in *Antichnaya drevnost’ i srednie veka* 26 (1992) 234.

37. *EB*, 10.1.

38. J. Henderson and M. Mundell Mango, ‘Glass at Medieval Constantinople: Preliminary Scientific Evidence’, in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, 346.

dissemination elsewhere, to Bulgaria (Preslav) . . .', etc. 'was due probably to diplomatic rather than trade mechanisms'.³⁹

What Symeon saw was noteworthy indeed and he remembered it well. Was it then just a mere coincidence that he initiated his life and death struggle against Byzantium by a war for a market-place?

Sofia, Bulgaria

39. R.B. Mason and M. Mundell Mango, 'Glazed "Tiles of Nicomedia", in Bythnia, Constantinople and Elsewhere', in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, 322.

Fig. 1

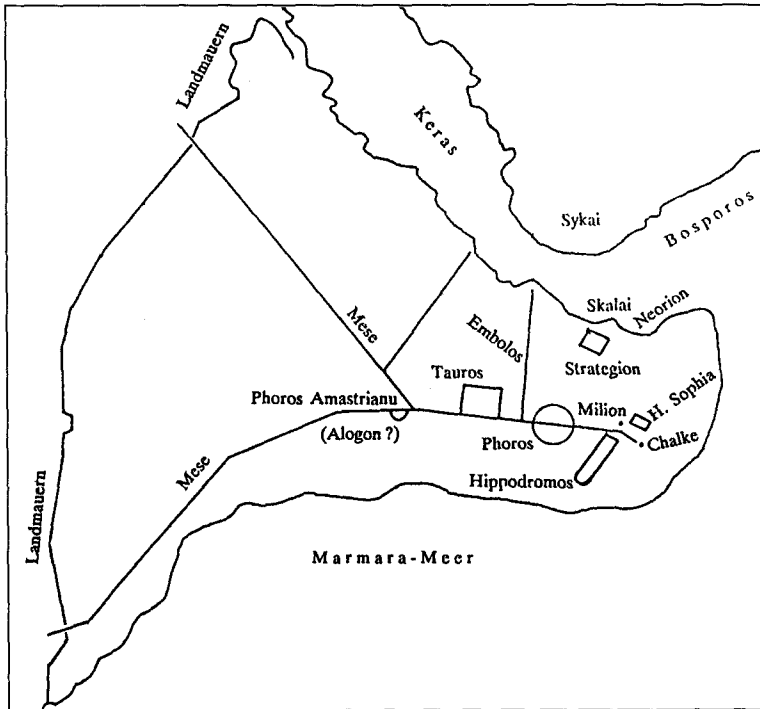
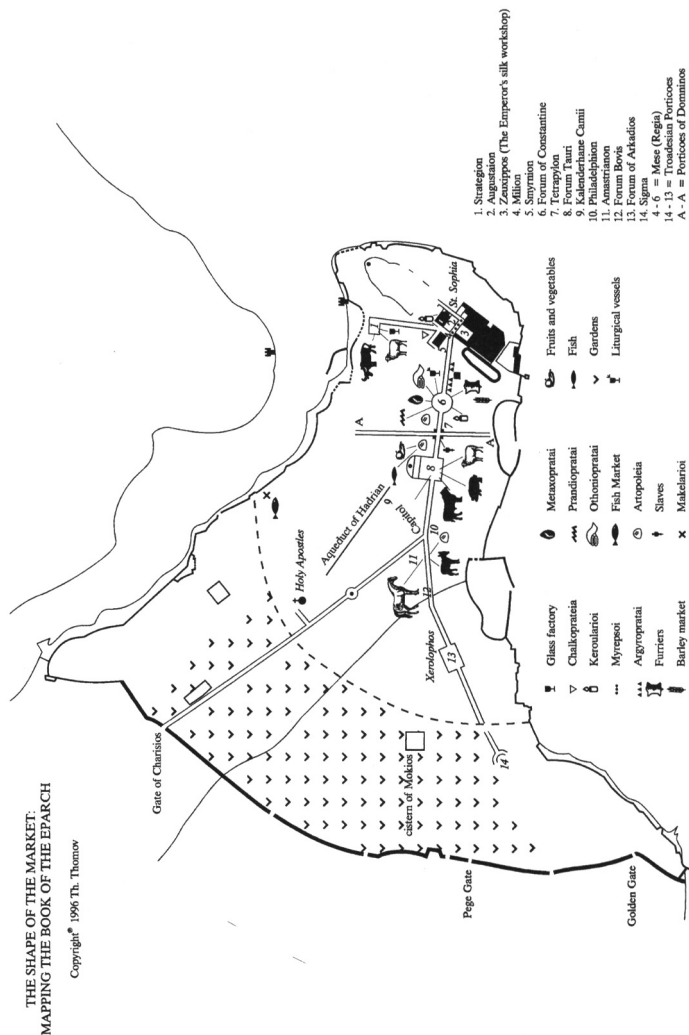


Fig. 2



Turkish-Israeli military co-operation: changing implications for Greece and Cyprus¹

AMIKAM NACHMANI

In order to fully grasp the dynamics of the trilateral relations between Israel, Turkey, and Greece today, one must look first to the history of their mutual interrelations in the last 50 years, that is, from the time of the establishment of the State of Israel.

In 1949 Turkey granted *de jure* recognition to the State of Israel, a bold step for a Moslem people at the time. Yet, not long after, Israeli Premier David Ben Gurion summed up his view of Turkish-Israeli relations as follows: '[The Turks] have always treated us as one treats a mistress, and not as a partner in an openly avowed marriage,' he complained. At the same time he expressed his envy for Turkey's physical attributes and its enormous rate of natural increase: 850,000 births annually. 'How meagre and impotent we are in this sphere, which overrides all else!'² This statement was also an implicit reference to one of the underlying ideas ceaselessly entertained by Israel for its relations with Turkey: the fusion of Turkey's massive natural resources with Israel's know-how, technology and direction. It was a fruitless idea then and remained so for some time to come.

By 1952 Jerusalem had already formulated its doctrine on the explosive Cyprus issue. In a paper dealing with Israel's position on the Greek demand for *Enosis*, the arguments against were presented in the following order and couched in the following terms: Israeli-British relations, Israeli-Turkish relations, and 'our chilly relations with Greece'. (Although Greece had also recognised the State of Israel in 1949, the recognition was only *de facto*.) One of the two

1. The research of this article was conducted with the help of the BESA Centre for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Israel.

2. In Amikam Nachmani, *Israel, Turkey and Greece. Uneasy relations in the East Mediterranean* (London 1987) 75.

arguments in favour was Israel's rather abstract 'traditional acknowledgement of the right of self-determination'. The second was 'our moral debt' to many of the island's inhabitants who had aided Jewish immigration to Palestine during the days of the British Mandate in Palestine.

When two sets of arguments are weighed against a relationship depicted as 'chilly', the choice is not hard: 'The consideration of our relations with Greece should not burden us excessively'. Israel then set out to prove that *Enosis* was without authentic roots. It was an artificial demand, an undesirable by-product of Greek domestic politics, not shared by all Greeks. *Enosis* was described as the program of the Greek Communists and the Greek Orthodox Church. The combination left the Greek government with no choice but to undertake the cause, though with evident reluctance. And, the argument continued, even if there was anything genuine behind the demand for *Enosis*, its sole origin lay in Cyprus, the only ethnic Greek community where Communism was rampant. Why, then, should Israel provide Ankara with additional proof of Israel's so-called leftist leanings by supporting *Enosis*?³

It should perhaps be noted that Greco-Israeli relations were in the worst possible state from the late 1940s — when Greece was then defined as an *enemy state* by Israel. And even as late as the 1980s, George Papandreou privately termed Israel the illegal child of ugly American imperialism. It takes two to tango and thus both countries bore responsibility for the stagnation in their relations and for the often wretched state of affairs between them — evidence of which has left its traces even today.⁴

In terms of regional and global strategy, Dunkart Rustow wrote during the Cold War era:

It is Turkey's firm alliance with the West that makes possible Moscow's recurrent setbacks in Cairo, Baghdad, and other Arab capitals. Only behind Turkey's protective shield can governments in Egypt, Iraq, or Syria, afford to lean now toward Moscow and now toward Washington without courting the fate of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or Afghanistan. Only behind that same barrier

3. *Ibid.*, 68-69.

4. *Ibid.*, 94: non-attributable interview.

can Israel maintain its status as a regional power and cope with continuing Arab hostilities without the risk of facing on the Golan Heights not just Soviet arms supplied to Syria, but the full force of the Red Army itself.⁵

We can, perhaps, learn something from this background material, particularly when we compare the situation then to the trilateral relations existing today among Greece, Turkey and Israel. The coolness of relations between Greece and Israel compared to the enormous importance Israel attached to Turkey is what has influenced the state of their trilateral relations today.

1. The Idea of 'Complementary Nations'

The idea of 'complementary nations', considered by Ben Gurion as the proper basis of Israeli-Turkish relations in the early 1950s, proved problematic. Nobody wants to be the junior partner in such an alliance. Specifically, Turkey resented the notion that she had to import technology and industry from Israel while exporting agricultural produce and raw materials, not to mention the fact that imports far outweighed exports. But such was the case for a short while.

In this respect numbers regarding trade between turkey and Israel in the last decade are very telling:

Year	Turkish Exports	Turkish Imports
1992	\$ 80 m	\$114 m
1993	\$ 92 m	\$134 m
1994	\$163 m	\$127 m
1995	\$261.5 m	\$179 m
1996	\$243 m	\$196 m

That is to say, since 1994 Turkey has been exporting to Israel more than she imports. To emphasise this aspect we should look at the total volume of trade between the two countries:

1991 — \$100 m

1995 — \$440 m

5. Dankwart, A. Rustow, *Turkey: America's Forgotten Ally* (New York 1987) 109-10.

Moreover, the Free Trade Agreement signed in March 1996 between Israel and Turkey is expected to increase trade to \$2.5 billion by the year 2000. None of these numbers includes military trade or tourism, and Israeli tourism to Turkey is nothing to sneeze at: 1986 — 7,000; 1992 — 150,000; from 1993 on, approximately 350,000 tourists a year; and the average Israeli tourist in Turkey spends about \$1000. In addition, Turkey enjoys more than another \$1 billion just from the take of the casinos, which are avidly frequented by Israeli tourists.⁶

While the short-lived complementary economics of the 1950s meant Israeli technology for Turkish raw materials, we see in the 1990s that the export of Israeli technology and know-how is reciprocated by the export of Turkish industrial and electrical products to Israel (and the training of Israeli troops in highly sophisticated Turkish naval installations).⁷ Questions of national pride no longer irritate the Turks.

2. The Reasons for Rapprochement

Before we elaborate on current Turkish-Israeli military and security relations, we should mention in brief the main developments which resulted in the unique status of the relations between the two countries. To begin with, there was a decline in the importance of Arab oil as a means of pressuring consumers to adopt anti-Israeli positions. Ankara came to realise that warmer relations with Israel wouldn't cause a painful Arab reaction. Similarly, the waning of the Cold War and the beginning of the Middle Eastern peace process introduced more openness and less rigidity in the willingness of many countries to pursue foreign relations with Israel. The zero-sum game principle no longer exists in Ankara's thinking vis-à-vis Israel.

Most Arab countries have long perceived both Turkey and Israel as intruders into the region, as representatives of the long arm of

6. *HA'ARETZ*, daily newspaper (Hebrew), 30 July 1996; *Yedioth Ahronoth*, daily newspaper (Hebrew), 8 April 1996; Manufacturers Association of Israel, Section for Foreign Trade and International Contacts, 'Considerations for Establishing a Free Trade Region between Turkey and Israel', Draft B, Tel Aviv, August 1993 (Hebrew); Ihsan Gurkan, 'Turkish-Israeli Relations and the Middle East Peace Process', *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies* (formerly: *Studies on Turkish Arab Relations*) 7 (1993) 130; *HA'ARETZ*, 23 June 1997.

7. Major General Alex Tal, GOC Israeli Navy, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 18 October 1996.

western civilisation, sowing alien ideas in the Middle East. In the 1950s Turkey's recognition of Israel was considered an act of treason, an act of retaliation for the Arab revolt of 1916 against the Ottoman Empire. In this context a word is needed on Turkish-Arab relations.

After World War II, the main sources of friction between Turkey and the Arab world were their divergent views of regional and world affairs. Ankara identified with the West, and viewed the Soviets as a source of evil and danger. For some Arab states, the opposite was true. Danger to their independence and prosperity lay in the West and in its client states, Israel and Turkey in particular.⁸

The controversy culminated in Cyprus in the 1960s. Egypt, ruled then by Nasser, supplied the Greek Cypriots with weapons, allegedly for use against the Cypriot Turks. Turkey saw this as another stab in the back, another instance in which Moslems were helping Christians to kill Moslems (i.e., a repetition of Arab assistance to Great Britain during World War I, in its war against Ottoman Turkey). Moreover, Arab assistance to the Greek Cypriots was perceived in Ankara as a retaliation for Turkey's recognition of Israel in 1949. The following anecdote is a quirky but nonetheless telling footnote to this mutual bitterness: at the end of the Gulf War, in a lavish publication in the *Washington Post* of March 10, 1991, the government of Kuwait thanked all the countries that had aided in liberating Kuwait. The list, however, omitted Turkey. Turkey's response was quick: a few days later Turkish state television screened the movie *Lawrence of Arabia*, a reminder of Arab perfidy and ingratitude during World War I.

3. Military Relations

Military relations between Turkey and Israel during the last decade have produced more than twenty agreements. In 1996 alone three agreements were signed, among them: mutual air-force training (eight

8. Oya Akgonenc Mughisuddin, 'Perceptions and Misconceptions in the Making of Foreign Diplomacy: a Study of Turkish-Arab Attitudes until the End of the 1970s', *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies* 7 (1993) 164. See also Philip Robins, *Turkey and the Middle East* (London 1991) 114: 'Many Arabs . . . regard the Turks as bad Muslims, while many Turks regard the others as backward because of their fusion of the spiritual and the temporal'.

times a year — four deployments in each country); co-operation between the Turkish and the Israeli military industries, mainly in missile development and construction (the 'Popeye' air-to-air missile plus air-to-surface missiles); modernisation and upgrading of 54 Turkish F-4 ('Phantom') jets. This last project will take between six to eight years and cost \$800 million. The government of Israel will pay for the first two years by giving a long term loan to the Turkish government.

Other agreements reported by local and world media include: the gathering of intelligence on Syria and Iran, mainly through electronic devices; exchange of military technologies (information from Israel to Turkey regarding the MIG-29 fighter jets of Syria, Iran and Iraq; regular meetings for the evaluation of strategic, regional, and global issues; naval co-operation and training, including tripartite naval exercises by the Turkish, Israeli and US naval forces; and location, finding and rescue systems for pilots. To this list one should add the training program for mid-air refuelling for the two air-forces (May 1994); and the police accords to combat narcotics and terrorism (November 1994). Most of the agreements are for five years with the option of extending them for one year at a time following the termination of the first five-year period.⁹

It is interesting to note the striking difference between the two countries when it comes to publicising these agreements. In spite of Israel's understandable inclination to keep a low profile as regards this co-operation, Turkey no longer 'treats us like a mistress'. The Turkish army has no inhibitions about making it public. The Turkish army, which has no spokesman and conducts no press conferences (and which has been described by *The Economist* as 'keeping itself to itself'),¹⁰ has been quite open with regard to its military co-operation with Israel. It willingly releases all sorts of information regarding its interactions with the Israel Defence Forces (IDF), the Israel Defence Industry (IDI), and the Israel Aircraft Industry (IAI). We shall try below to explain Turkey's openness in this respect.

9. HA'ARETZ, 26 May 1996, 4 August 1996, 9 August 1996, 8 December 1996; *Hurriyet*, daily newspaper (Turkish), 2 June 1996; *Zaman*, daily newspaper (Turkish), 31 October 1996; *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 21 June 1996.

10. *The Economist*, Survey Turkey, 8 June 1996.

In Israel, on the other hand, not much was leaked to the press on the contents of the agreements. Some amusing information was forthcoming, apparently to show the harmless nature of this co-operation. One can find articles pertaining to military museums and military archives; bilateral visits by the sports teams and the entertainment units of the two armies; co-operation between the film and photography studios of the two armies, etc. Secrecy was specifically mentioned but it was also specifically emphasised that none of the armies or their personnel would be involved in conflicts with a third party while training with each other.¹¹ Assurances were given by the highest Israeli echelons (prime minister, foreign secretary, chief of staff) that there is nothing in the agreements directed against Greece or Cyprus. Moreover, Israeli political figures and army personnel have reported that their Turkish counterparts have never raised the Greece-Cypriot issue.

The most important element in Israeli-Turkish military co-operation is the fact that it is strongly backed by intensive civil and non-military activity. Since the Madrid Conference (October 1991) and the elevation of representation in the two countries to embassy status (December 1991), numerous agreements and accords were concluded between the two countries. They cover areas like education, science, culture, environment, telecommunications, medicine, agriculture, banking and investments, double taxation, etc. Thus, as an interim conclusion, one can safely say that the relationship is rock solid, composed of both civil and military layers. There are growing vested interests both in Israel and in Turkey for the continuation and expansion of this co-operation.

4. The Benefits for Turkey

Who gains what from the intensive interaction described here? Let us begin with Turkey. It is no secret that some circles in Europe and in the US Congress would like to limit contacts with Turkey, and apparently with good reason: the problem of human rights, the occupation of Cyprus, the Kurdish-Turkish civil war, religious, cultural

11. *Aksiyon Magazine*, 18-24 May 1996 (Turkish), published what seems to be an accurate copy of the agreement, signed by General Cevik Bir, the Turkish Deputy Chief of Staff, and David Ivry the General Director of the Israeli Defence Ministry.

and economic differences, problems of the Turkish immigrant workers, etc. Israel, however, views the possible outcome of this alienation with horror: Turkey might just become a second Iran. And Iran, even from a distance, has been implicated in many of the terrorist attacks in Israeli cities. The radicalisation of Turkey would be that much more threatening. Israel believes that the best means for bringing about a change in the above-mentioned difficulties would be a general rapprochement with Turkey. Meanwhile, Turkey finds in Israel a substitute for some of the things she is deprived of by the 'real' West.

Furthermore, Turkish controversies with Damascus over territory (Hatay), water, and Syrian support for the Kurdish Workers Party (P.K.K.), are another strong incentive for Turkish co-operation with Israel. The enemy of my enemy is my friend, as the old saw goes. Ankara believes that were it not for the Syrian-Israeli conflict its relations with Syria would have been much more strained. It is in Turkey's interest that Syria be 'sandwiched' between Israel and Turkey. (The Turkish press combined the two together. 'Once we were sandwiched between Greece and Syria; thanks to the agreements with Israel, now Syria is the filling in the sandwich'.)¹²

Israel's Likud government, which on the face of it seems more reluctant to negotiate with the Syrians, makes the sandwich even tastier. Netanyahu's Syrian policy accords with that of Turkey, and the suspension of the peace talks with Syria was received with relief in Ankara. Turkey pursues a tough line towards Syria and had openly expressed its reservations against any rapprochement between Israel and Syria. More specifically, Turkey dislikes the idea that a peace agreement between Syria and Israel would result in a redeployment of the Syrian army in new positions, far from the Syrian-Israeli border. This would mean strengthening Syrian forces along the Syrian-Turkish border. In addition, Ankara expressed its reservations following Israeli efforts to get Syria off the black list of states supporting terrorism and drug-trading. Ankara repeatedly warned that she would not tolerate a situation in which Syria was called upon to put an end to its support for Palestinian terrorism or for the Lebanese Hezbollah, while at the

12. Quoted in *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 21 June 1996.

same time, the Arab countries negotiating with Israel for peace would continue their unfriendly acts towards Turkey.¹³

American support is another bonus that Ankara enjoys thanks to its intensive contacts with Israel. Sometimes this support is achieved only as a result of active Israeli and Jewish lobbying in Washington. Often it is just easier for the Administration to support Turkey indirectly, i.e., through Israel. Moreover, Israeli lobbying on behalf of Turkey is not confined to Washington. Shimon Peres, as prime minister of Israel, did his utmost among his European friends at the Socialist International to persuade them to enable Turkey to become a member of the European Customs Union (and, indeed, Turkey did become a member of the ECU in January 1996). Furthermore, Syrian sources reported on another service provided by Israel to Turkey, this time of a different type: an Israeli attack in Lebanon (April 1996) on the P.K.K. headquarters in the Syrian-controlled part of Lebanon.¹⁴

Turkey, like Israel, views developments in Iran with growing concern. It doesn't like Iran's influence on Turkish Moslems or Iranian support for the P.K.K., or their development of non-conventional weapons. In light of all this, there is much to be said for the assertion of Thomas Friedman of the *New York Times* that the most important legacy Shimon Peres left to Benjamin Netanyahu wasn't peace with Jordan but Israel's relations with Turkey.¹⁵

How does Turkey explain its military co-operation with Israel to its ever more radical Moslem population? Israel is, after all, in Islamic jargon, the 'little Satan'. (America is the big one.) Strengthening Turkish positions against Syria is an understandable argument and often used. But another argument vigorously and frequently employed — notwithstanding vehement Greek denials! — is the existence of a Syrian-Greco military agreement, upon which the Turkish press has elaborated in detail: it allegedly includes landing, service and training

13. HA'ARETZ, 15 January 1996; 7 February 1996; 26 May 1996.

14. HA'ARETZ, 30 April 1996; 30 December 1996.

15. Reprinted in HA'ARETZ, 17 June 1996.

rights in Syria to the Greek air-force as well as mooring and service facilities to the Greek navy.¹⁶

5. The Benefits for Israel

Israeli interests in rapprochement with Turkey are easy to see. To begin with, thousands of Israeli employees will keep their jobs in the IAI following the agreement to upgrade 54 Turkish 'Phantom' F-14 jets. Secondly, Turkish intelligence reports on Iraq, Iran and Syria — the enemies in Israel's backyard — are of priceless value. Thirdly, one can mention Israel's joint ventures with Turkey in the Moslem republics of Central Asia. (For example, Israel and Turkey are lending assistance to Azarbijan to annul the US congressional amendment forbidding American investment in Azarbijan, which was passed under pressure from the American lobby).¹⁷ With America's blessing — if not their money — the two countries are active in the economies of the ex-Soviet Central asia republics, serving, no doubt, as a counter-balance to Iranian influences. Iran's anger and resentment are the best proof for the need (if not the success) of these bi- or trilateral ventures.

Israel also enjoys Turkey's huge air-space. Suffice it to say that training on the back doorsteps of Iraq, Iran and Syria is of enormous advantage to the fighting ability of the Israeli air-force. In this context one should mention that the Turkish press noted a Turkish promise to grant 'shelter' to the Israeli air-force in times of emergency.¹⁸ It will not be a wild guess to suggest that the Israeli air-force will not need a 'shelter' in Turkey but will, rather, ask permission to use Turkish air-space on its way to targets in Syria, Iran or Iraq, if and when such an emergency arises.

But perhaps the most important benefit accruing to Israel in this context would be in case of a shooting war with Syria, Iran or Iraq. Israel could then expect precautionary Turkish military moves, such

16. *HA'ARETZ*, 12 April 1996. See also Syrian TV, 11 May 1996, 21:30 hours, report on meeting between the Syrian Foreign Minister A'Shara and Constantine Georgiou, Secretary General of the Greek Foreign Ministry.

17. *HA'ARETZ*, 28 and 31 August 1997.

18. Quoted in *HA'ARETZ*, 7 April 1996.

as the concentration of Turkish troops along the borders of Syria, Iran or Iraq, which would ease the pressure on Israeli troops on other fronts.

6. Arab and Moslem Reactions

Arab reactions to Israeli-Turkish cooperation have been harsh criticism and, apparently, plans for redeployment of troops. Apparently new perspectives are emerging among Arab and Moslem actors following the rapprochement between Israel and Turkey (see, for instance, the recent Iranian-Egyptian interaction and the Syrian-Iraqi negotiations). Among them:

Iran: the Turkish-Israeli axis makes Israel our immediate neighbour.

Syria: Turkey should no longer be considered neutral in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Lebanon: Turkish-Israeli co-operation is the most dangerous alliance in the Middle East since World War I. They aspire to redraw the borders of the Middle East: a new water-map, a new political-economic map. This new map will use the Israeli-Turkish gun and Israeli technology. And all of this is backed by the United States, Iran, the Arab world, Sudan (which sits on the Red Sea waterways) and, of course, Syria will all find themselves squeezed between metal pliers.¹⁹

Arab sources tried to elaborate on Turkey's interests in her relations with Israel. Among other things, they mentioned Turkey's frustrations with regard to the Moslem republics of Central Asia. This, they said, caused Ankara to change course and look southward. Also, it was easier for Turkey to escalate her relations with Syria than with Iran: a Turkish-Iranian crisis would produce more damage than a conflict with Syria. These Arab sources also explained why a Middle East peace would be detrimental to Turkey's interests: the Kurds would follow the lead of the Palestinians and find themselves in a better position for achieving their goal (i.e., independence from Turkey); Iran and other Islamic actors, who object to the Middle East peace process, would stir-up severe controversies in Turkey — a country

19. HA'ARETZ, 12 September 1996; *Syria Times*, 27 April 1996; *al 'Ousbou al 'Arabi*, (Beirut, weekly, Arabic), 15 April 1996, 29 April 1996; *al 'Shrook* (United Arab Emirates, weekly, Arabic), No. 210, 15-21 April 1996.

wrought with secular-religious tensions; Turkey would be forced to show more flexibility in Cyprus; and Beirut and Haifa would join Cyprus in becoming the focal points of the Middle East economy while Istanbul's importance would decline.²⁰

7. Greco-Cypriot-Israeli Relations

A somewhat strange anomaly has existed in Greco-Israeli bilateral relations until very recently. Three Greek military attachés (air-force, navy, land-forces) serve in the Greek Embassy in Tel-Aviv but only in early 1997 was an Israeli military attaché accredited in Athens.²¹ Why does Greece reveal such an interest in Israeli military affairs? And why is Israel's attitude towards military cooperation with Greece so lukewarm?

Both Greece and Turkey, as already noted, recognised the State of Israel in the late 1940s, but were diplomatically represented in Tel Aviv on lower-than-embassy levels. Notwithstanding, there was a lot of interaction between Turkey and Israel, while there was very little between Greece and Israel. Prof. Ioannis Mazis, a scholar from the Ionian University in Corfu, has lately described it in simple but unequivocal words: 'Unfortunately, Greece waited till the 1990s to proceed to the full recognition of Israel and now it is concerned about Turkish-Israeli military relations.'²² At the same time, the overwhelming effect of Greco-Turkish relations on Greece's internal and external affairs does explain the intensive interest which Greece reveals in Israeli-Turkish co-operation.²³ The upgrading and modernisation

20. *Al' Mshahid al 'Siasi* (London, weekly, Arabic), 12-18 May 1996; *al 'Watan al 'Arabi* (Paris, weekly, Arabic) 17 May 1996; *al 'Siasa al 'Dowliah* (Cairo, quarterly, Arabic) July 1996.

21. *HA'ARETZ*, 29 January 1997.

22. Ioannis Th. Mazis, *Archives of Economic History*, vol. VII, No. 1-2, January-December 1996, p. 2.

23. See the findings of Vamik D. Volkan and Norman Itzkowitz, *Turks and Greeks. Neighbours in Conflict* (Huntingdon 1994) 167: Contents analysis research commissioned by the Argean Foundation in 1987 on reports and editorials in the Greek press on Turkey, in general, and on Turkish-Greek relations, in particular, indicated that such material appeared in the Greek press more frequently than any other topic. In Turkey, on the other hand, such material on Turkish-Greek relations ranked only *sixteenth* in the Turkish Press. . . . Furthermore, when the length of all the news items about Turkey in the Greek press was compared to that about Greece in the Turkish press, the Greek press devoted six times more space than did their Turkish counterparts.

of Turkish weapons and, most important, the mutual training and exchange of technologies between the two air-forces, all attract Greek interest. The potential option (or danger) of a Turkish-Israeli strategic pact has produced a totally different Greek attitude towards Israel. Furthermore, Greece's policy of enhancing its deterrent ability and modernising its arsenal with possible purchases in Israel are among the reasons for the sharp turn in Greco-Israeli relations. Thus, while both Greece and Cyprus independently reached the strategic decision of upgrading their relations with Israel, one cannot avoid the conclusion — if not the irony — that yet another by-product of the Greco-Turkish conflict has been the warming-up of Greco-Cypriot-Israeli relations.

Greece's attempts to invigorate its contacts with Israel allegedly complicate intensive interaction between Turkey and Israel. It was reported that Israel tried to minimise the importance of the visit of its air-force commander, Eitan Ben-Eliyahu, in Athens at the beginning of 1997. Notwithstanding the growing contacts between the Turkish and Israeli air-forces, Athens offered mutual air-training. Furthermore, General Ben-Eliyahu proposed that the IAI modernise 40 Greek F-4 'Phantom' jets (as it is doing to 54 Turkish F-4s), and sell detachable oil tanks to the Greek F-16 jets. In the end, however, Israel decided not to participate in the tender for modernising the 40 Greek jets, lest relations with Turkey be adversely affected. What was agreed on was joint naval manoeuvres to be held at the end of the summer of 1997. Yet they were indefinitely postponed by the Greeks. The reason given for the postponement was that because the Greek navy was busy preventing infiltrations from Albania, it could not spare a frigate for the first manoeuvres. It should be mentioned that a Greco-Israeli co-operation agreement on military affairs was concluded as early as December 1994 (long before the Turkish-Israeli agreement of February 1996). Yet, both sides refrained from activating the agreement, Israel in order not to alienate the Turks and Greece, apparently, in order not to alienate the Arab world.²⁴

What, then, happened in 1995-96 that moved Greco-Israeli relations out of the stagnation in which they had been mired for almost 45

24. *HA'ARETZ*, 29 January 1997, 5 October 1997, 27 October 1997.

years? We have already mentioned the Turkish factor as a catalyst and Greece's decision to increase its deterrent power vis-à-vis Turkey. Other elements include the death of Andreas Papandreou (June 1996), the improvement in US-Greek relations and the Middle East peace negotiations. And one can only hope that both Greece and Cyprus are in the process of losing the zero-sum syndrome which in the past had marred their relations with Israel. All this has brought about a change in relations between Athens and Jerusalem.

The 1995 Greco-Israeli trade volume has been doubled since 1989 and reached \$350 million. (Israel exported \$200 million of chemicals and oil products to Greece and imported \$150 million of cement, food and building materials. Israel is, in fact, the Middle East's second largest — after Lebanon — importer of Greek products.)²⁵ Greek military delegations have visited Israel and examined the possibility of buying Israeli military equipment. Current Israeli military exports to Greece are small (about \$20 million worth a year) and include — again, in order not to upset Israeli-Turkish relations — mainly defensive products like bullet-proof jackets, etc. Yet, most Israeli weapon makers are represented in Athens. Thus the \$16 billion that Greece has allocated for military modernisation would, in case of a public tender, be open to the participation of Israeli firms. There were also reports that the Republic of Cyprus bought an Israeli-made torpedo boat (to be supplied in August 1997) and intends further to buy communications and military equipment in Israel. Since the early 1990s, Cyprus and Israel have almost tripled their mutual trade: \$110 million in 1996 plus 80,000 Israeli tourists (as against \$40 million plus 8,000 tourists in 1990).

There are other indications of rapprochement between Greece and Israel, two of them of particular importance: Athens limits the presence of Arab and Moslem terror groups in Greece and, more important, no real activity is taking place in the Greco-Syrian security co-operation agreement, signed (or made public) immediately after the signing of the Turkish-Israeli agreement. There are also reports that

25. Ran Curiel, Israeli Ambassador in Athens, *Express* (Greek), 20 July 1997. See also interviews with the Ambassador in *Eleftherotypia Kiryakatiki* (Greek), 6 July 1997.

Cyprus has stopped serving as a transit point (some say it has never been) for material used in the production of chemical weapons destined for Syria.²⁶

What has eased Greco-Israeli rapprochement is Israel's clarification that its co-operation with Turkey is not aimed at Greece or Cyprus. Furthermore, Turkey's reaction, belittling the importance of Greco-Israeli contacts — 'We aren't asking for a monopoly on Israel's foreign relations' — gives Israel little room for alarm.²⁷

8. Turkish and Greek Military Expenditure

Before concluding I would like to elaborate on both Turkish and Greek plans for the modernisation, acquisition and upgrading of their weapons systems, of which present or future Israeli military co-operation might be a part.

Turkey developed its military industry, inter alia, to cope with the US weapons embargo imposed on it in 1974, following the invasion of Cyprus. Various companies were established under the supervision of the Committee for Military Industry (S.S.M.), established in 1985. The foundation which supports Turkey's military industry has a capital of \$6.5 billion (obtained from taxes on petrol, alcohol, etc.). The foundation yields \$700 million a year. During the last decade the S.S.M. has supervised 41 military projects, totalling \$13 billion. Armed vehicles, electronic warfare devices for F-16 jets built in Turkey, wireless systems, mobile radar systems, 32 light transport planes, 40 training planes, S.S.M. also develops signal and decoding centres for radio and wireless systems. Notwithstanding all this, the domestic Turkish production of military systems and hardware is accountable for only 21 percent of Turkey's military demand. The rest has to be obtained outside Turkey.

In the next 25 years Turkey will spend the fantastic amount of \$150 billion on military equipment (60 billion for the land-forces, 25 for the navy, 65 for the air-force). Some 1523 military projects are expected to be finished by 2004. One-third of the Turkish defence budget is to be spent on modernisation and upgrading of weapon

26. Athens News Agency, *Daily News Bulletin (DNB)*, 3 September 1996.

27. *HA'ARETZ*, 29 January 1997.

systems. For the modernisation of 300 tanks (American-made M60s) and the production of up to 2500 new tanks, Turkey will spend another \$4.5 billion. Turkey is further considering building its own helicopter and will produce 95 percent of its parts. The 1996 numbers for the Turkish military budget are also of importance to our discussion: \$6 billion or 3.6 percent of the G.D.P. The war with the Kurds is estimated at another \$7 billion.²⁸

The Greek figures for military equipment are also huge: by the year 2000 Greece will spend \$8 billion, and by the year 2007 another \$8 billion on early warning AWACS planes, 60 new jet fighters, new helicopters, transport-planes, training systems for pilots, upgrading of F-4 'Phantoms', modernisation of tanks, etc. Money will also be spent on the acquisition of modern ammunition, new anti-aircraft systems, new submarines, nine gun-boats (three torpedoes, two corvettes, and four missile boats).²⁹

9. Conclusions

The emotional and cultural antagonisms of the Greco-Turkish conflict go very deep and cause a good deal of embarrassment for third parties. One can sense this in the two following quotations, chosen from a thick collection of unflattering utterances. Prime Minister Erbakan allegedly said, while visiting Malaysia: 'Turkey is an unhappy country for it has a neighbour like Greece.' Foreign Secretary Tansu Ciller, on her return from the E.U. summit in Dublin, said: 'Has Greece pondered on the kind of threat Turkey might pose in the event that Turkey remains outside of Europe? [. . .] Greece fear[s] our military might[?] It is a justified fear!'³⁰ Such utterances give voice, apparently, to real feelings of concern on both sides. For a third party, be it the European Union or Israel, or any other actor, it is almost impossible to manoeuvre between these two poles. Almost

28. *The Economist*, Survey Turkey, 8 June 1996; *Turkish Daily News*, Reprinted in *HA'ARETZ*, 17 September 1996; *HA'ARETZ*, 10 March 1997; *DNB*, 9 April 1996, 5 August 1996.

29. *DNB*, 14 November 1996; 'Greece's Armed Forces Modernize', *Cosmos* (Athens Institute of International Affairs, Panteion University) 2/1 (May-June 1997).

30. *DNB*, 19 August 1996, 18 December 1996.

any step taken by any third party is bound to alienate either Greece or Turkey. Israel's relations with Turkey and Greece are no exception.

The Turkish public justification for its close relations with Israel — the signing of an earlier Syrian-Greco accord — is bound to produce a consensus in Turkey, notwithstanding the strained relations between the Turkish military and Islamic politicians (and the contacts with Israel are an inherent part of these strained relations). Relations with ISrael are presented as an answer to Greece's so-called machinations and are further bound up with the Turkish army's capacity for coping with the Kurdish uprising (and by extension with Syria). The use of these three adversaries guarantees vast support in Turkey for Israeli-Turkish rapprochement and dispenses with the need to conceal the extent of their relations.

As was mentioned before, Israel views the possible radicalisation of Turkey as a disaster with global implications. It therefore maintains that any change in Turkish policies should stem from the advantages of co-operation rather than the disadvantages and 'punishment' of alientation. But there are, as well, some elements which might weaken this co-operation. There are fears in Israel that its current intensive love affair with Turkey might end the same way as did its affairs with Iran, Ethiopia and South Africa. Israeli-Iranian relations, for example, were at their peak when the Humeini regime came to power and reversed course. This is compounded by the fear that Israeli know-how, weapons and technology might be transferred by Turkey to a country less friendly towards Israel. (This was done lately by South Africa which is now cooperating with Iran.) Against this background one can understand the assurances recently given to Israel (in February 1997) by the Turkish Chief of Staff, General Karaday, that Turkey would not share with a third party any of the know-how and weapons given to it by Israel.³¹

There are yet other snags. One of Israel's assets in its relations with Turkey was its ability to lobby on Turkey's behalf, both in the United States and in Western Europe. Alas, after elections in both countries of two prime-ministers who are less personae gratae than, say, Mr. Peres and President Ozal, this asset has a diminishing value.

31. *HA'ARETZ*, 25 February 1997.

Israel's prestige during the early 1990s rose enormously in the wake of the Oslo Accords, turning friendship with her into a valuable asset. The present government, however, does not enjoy the same advantages as did Rabin and Peres and the result might just be a cooling of Turkey's relations with her. Israel's departing ambassador to Turkey, Zvi Alpeleg, even warned rather recently that Israel's deteriorating relations with the Palestinians may have a negative effect on her relations with Turkey. There may be grass-roots pressure in Turkey to reduce its ties with Israel and such pressure would be difficult for any government in Ankara to ignore.³²

As for Greece, Israel's tendency to blame Greece for the fact that agreements with her have remained largely on paper does not quite accord with the facts. Israel's fear of Turkish alienation is the more obvious reason for the slowdown of military cooperation with Greece. On the other hand, it would appear that the element of the 'zero-sum game' has not entirely lost its validity for Greece vis-à-vis Israel. The fear of an anti-Greece reaction from Arab countries (in the wake of improved relations with Israel) still asserts itself among various circles in Greece's foreign office, preventing real progress in the direction of Jerusalem.

In conclusion, Israel's close relations with Turkey are considered one of the greatest achievements of its foreign policy. We have discussed the reasons for this above. It would also appear that the harsh Arab criticism of Turkish-Israeli co-operation would justify such a conclusion. For Turkey, as well, close relations with Israel are a kind of effective substitute for its cool relations with Europe and the United States. In the foreseeable future, both countries will continue to enjoy the good relations obtaining between them.

Bar-Ilan University, Israel

32. *HA'ARETZ*, 30 September 1997.

Conclusion

SPIROS KAMINARIS and PANAGIOTIS PANAGOPOULOS

The Conference on *Greece as a Member of the European Union: Sixteen Years after its Accession* was the result of intensive work and commitment for a successful event. It gave the opportunity to both scholars and experts to contribute to high level discussions on the role of Greece in the EU from the point of view of political, economic as well as cultural developments.

The first speaker was Professor Kevin Featherstone (Department of European Studies, University of Bradford). His article pointed out the relation between Modernisation and Europeanisation in Greece, and concluded that EU conditions for membership in the 1990s have imposed the need for further reforms in Greece.

Dr Amikam Nachmani (Department of Political Science, Bar-Ilan University, Israel) contributed to the Conference with an article focused on security questions and more specifically the relations between Israel and Turkey and the implications for Greece and the Arab states of Turkish-Israeli military co-operation.

Professor Erik Goldstein (Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham) analysed the historical factors that have determined Greek foreign policy, showing that after the end of the Cold War, Greece has found itself in a new geostrategic position and there is a need to re-organise its political, strategic and economic status due to new realities in Europe as a whole.

Dr Othon Anastasakis from the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussed the role of Greece in the enlargement of the European Union, and argued that there is no doubt that Greece can play a significant role in the future process of European integration as it is the only Balkan country of the EU, therefore, it maintains a special interest in stability in the area.

Dr Marianna Spanaki (Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham) gave a cultural tone to

the Conference by discussing the survival of Modern Greek in the European Union. Her article covered both the issue of language changes in Greece after the collapse of the colonels' régime in 1974 and the effects of EU programmes such as Erasmus in encouraging the teaching of Modern Greek in Europe today.

We are grateful to the sponsors of the Conference for their kind support and especially Professor John Haldon (Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham), Professor John Redmond (European Studies Research Programme of the Department of Political Science and International Studies), Professor William Paterson and Dr Charlie Jeffery (Institute for German Studies), the Hellenic Society of the University of Birmingham, the National Tourist Organisation of Greece, and the Greek Consulate in Birmingham. Finally, we are thankful to Mr Shlomo Shpiro (Institute for German Studies) for his assistance in organising this Conference.

Conference Organising Committee:

Spiros Kaminaris

*Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies,
University of Birmingham*

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